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TRAVELS

IN

MONTENEGRO;

CONTAINING

**A TOPOGRAPHICAL, PICTURESQUE, AND STATISTICAL
ACCOUNT OF THAT HITHERTO UNDESCRIBED
COUNTRY.**

ILLUSTRATED BY A MAP AND PLATES.

BY

COL. L. C. VIALLA DE SOMMIÈRES,

**COMMANDANT OF CASTEL-NUOVO, GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF CATTARO, AND
CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF OF THE ILLYRIAN ARMY AT RAGUSA.**

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PREFACE.

IN writing the history of a people, hitherto scarcely known even by name, my object has been to render myself useful, without aspiring to literary honour. The military and political circumstances of Montenegro, the situation in which I was placed, and my intercourse with the principal chiefs of the nation, afforded me the best opportunity of observing the manners, customs, and superstitions of the people. All the details which I have given on these subjects, must necessarily be new to the reader, and cannot be unimportant in the study of geography and the moral history of mankind.

The silence of the ancients concerning Montenegro serves only to enhance the value of the information I procured during my short residence in that country. In all probability, the advantages I enjoyed will not speedily occur to another observer. The difficulty of penetrating into the country, the absolute indifference of the people to every thing that does not personally concern them, and their extreme distrust of

foreigners, will doubtless, for a long period, oppose political and commercial communication, which alone can establish permanent connections between the inhabitants of different countries.

The Montenegrines, who are continually in danger of invasion from the Turks, feel no interest in any object save that of self-defence against their cruel neighbours. Art, science, literature, all that constitute European glory, is a dead blank to them. His gun, his poignard, and his bible, which, by the bye, he kisses oftener than he reads, are all that are necessary for the happiness of a Montenegrine.

It is probable that I shall not escape the lash of critical censure, since it has been my task to describe what is new, unknown, and singular. That, however, will give me but little concern. Criticism, when its object is to correct errors, can never give offence; and that which is written from the dictates of envy or spleen deserves only contempt. In the former case, he who is wise will silently correct his faults; but, in the latter, the critic deserves no notice.

TRAVELS

IN

MONTENEGRO.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Montenegrines.—They oppose the Establishment of the French in the Province of Cattaro.—Battle of Castel-Nuovo.—The Montenegrines are driven back into their Mountains.—Topographical Description of their Country.—Sketch of their Political History, up to the Period of the Author's Arrival among them.

WHEN the French advanced to the gates of Castel-Nuovo, in Illyria, and from thence to the mouths of the Cattaro, the people of Montenegro began to be frequently mentioned throughout Europe; though, perhaps, in a manner no less vague than in the few scanty notices which had previously appeared respecting them.

The Montenegrines are that warlike people, who, towards the end of 1806, descended in a mass from their mountains, at the summons of the revered Vladika, or prince-bishop of the country, whom the Emperor of Russia had attached to his cause.

When the French force approached Castel-Nuovo, it was unexpectedly attacked by 10,000 Montenegrines, united to the Russian troops, who had landed on the banks of the Saturina. Our army was thus thrown into disorder, and was obliged to retreat by Ragusa, which the Montenegrines entered in the confusion of the pursuit. They immediately took possession of the town, levied contributions, laid waste Old Ragusa, and burnt Santa Croce, better known by the name of Gravosa, or the Port of Ragusa. In a second engagement they were, however, completely defeated and dispersed, being unable to sustain

the regular attack of our battalions. The Russians, who had placed great reliance on the Montenegrines, were, in consequence, obliged to re-embark precipitately; renouncing, on the one hand, the advantages of an excellent position, and, on the other, the aid of a numerous squadron, which, while it intercepted the entrance to the mouths of the Cattaro, would have dealt destruction along the plain of the Salterns, which we occupied. Forty-eight hours sufficed for the retreat of the enemy's force. The Vladika, who, two days before, had been animating the courage of his hordes, and leading them on with extraordinary courage and skill, now hastily retired to the convent of Savina, which was covered by the line of Castel-Nuovo, and the Spanish fort. There he rallied his forces, and, on the third day, commenced his march towards Montenegro.

The Montenegrine troops being chiefly trained to act as sharpshooters, and to fire from behind rocks, were consequently very ineffective in the engagements of the Salines, which is a plain of tolerable extent. Our troops had but little intercourse with the natives, and even our generals and principal officers seem to have regarded it as a matter of no great importance, to make observations on their character.

Having been intrusted with the government of one of the provinces of Montenegro for the space of six years, I enjoyed ample time and opportunity for forming a correct notion of the manners, customs, and character of the natives. I penetrated into the heart of their mountains, visited their villages and habitations, attended their ceremonies and festivities; thus have I been enabled to observe attentively their way of life, and to mark the various characteristics which distinguish them.

The Montenegrines inhabit that chain of high mountains extending from the valley of Garba, along Herzegovina, as far as the confines of the district of Castel-Nuovo, from north to south, and over the whole of the province of Cattaro, from east to west. Montenegro derives its name both from its situation and its aspect. Those enormous mountains, which were formerly overgrown with fir-trees, appeared black on all sides, and from every point; this circumstance determined their denomination among a people guided by nature alone; and the country was called, in the Illyrian language, *Czernogore*, or *Czernogora*, black mountain. It is situated between 18 and 19 deg. of longitude, east from Greenwich, and the 42 and 43 deg. of latitude. It is bounded on the east by the Cadalik of Antivari, and Upper Zenta; on the south by the mouths of the Cattaro, from Pastrovichio, to the province of Herzegovina; on the west, by Herzegovina; on the north, by Herzegovina, as far as the Bosnian Vizirate, and by the mountains of Albania Proper; it is consequently surrounded on

three sides by the Turkish territory, and on the fourth by what was formerly Venetian Albania. The country is divided into five parts, called Nahia, or departments, namely:—Katunska, Rieska, Piessivaska, Liesauska, and Czerniska. Each of these departments forms various counties, and these counties are again divided into communities. The principal rivers of Montenegro are: 1st. the Ricovezernovich, which has its source in the ravines, between Lovehein and Coloxum, and flows into the lake of Scutari; this river abounds in fish. 2d. The Schimzza, which is formed of several streams, rising in the ravines of the upper mountains, and uniting together at Bichisi; it falls into the Moraka, one mile above the mouth of the Limi. 3d. The Zetta or Poria, which takes its source among the Piessori mountains, and flows into the Moraka, opposite to the town of Podgorizza. And 4th, the Sussiza, which rises to the north of Mount Piesiori, and falls into the Moraka below Budina.

The situation of Montenegro, which is every where intersected with mountains and valleys, resembles that of the Alps of Switzerland;—the scenery is, however, in a more rude style, and, at first sight, the multitude of rocks gives the country an appearance of sterility, which does not in reality belong to it. The climate is milder than Switzerland, and may, generally speaking, be compared to Macedonia. Montenegro is the only country in Europe which does not contain a town, or even any cluster of habitations, large enough to be compared to one. The country, including Upper Zenta, measures in circuitry about 100 miles, of sixty to a degree, containing a surface of 418 such square miles.

In the time of the lower empire, under the dominion of the Greek emperors, Montenegro was included in the province called Nahia Prevaljtanja, which extended from the mouths of the Cattaro to the river Drino. It consequently embraced a portion of Dalmatia, Albania, and that part of Macedonia known by the name of Salutaris. Before it became subject to the Romans Montenegro had been governed by the kings of Illyricum, who resided at Scodra, now Scutari, which was the capital until the defeat of Gentius. Montenegro afterwards became a federal government, or more properly formed a federal republic, until, under Augustus, it was once more united to the Roman empire. The country, after being at various periods a prey to the incursions of the Goths, finally became subject to the Sclavonians. After the fall of the Sclavonian kings Montenegro again became a part of the Greek empire, and was afterwards subjected to the Kings of Servia; but, on the destruction of that kingdom, it fell under the dominion of various princes, who, from being

simple governors, acquired such power as enabled them to dispute for the territories of their sovereigns.

This order of things continued until the close of the fourteenth century, when George, king of the two Zentas, sought refuge in Russia against the attacks of the Venetians. He surrendered the two Zentas, as well as Montenegro, and the latter became a prey to the enterprises of petty princes. At length, with the assistance of the inhabitants, George succeeded in re-conquering a part of the Zentas and Montenegro. But he did not long enjoy his success, for he was obliged to flee, to avoid falling into the power of the despotic prince who then ruled Montenegro. Finally, after various political changes and civil wars, the descendants of this last-named prince lost the sovereignty, and were conquered and driven away by the Turks, about the end of the fifteenth century.

From that period the Ottomans extended their dominion over the whole country. They, however, maintained but a feeble sway over the Montenegrines, who were in a constant state of insurrection. During the reign of Peter the Great, Russia had shewn a disposition to subdue Montenegro to her influence, doubtless with the view of effecting useful diversions in her wars with the Turks. The Czar attained his object, and the Montenegrines, instigated by skilful emissaries, openly took up arms against the Turks, in the year 1692. They declared themselves independent, and maintained their supremacy until the year 1718, when they offered to surrender to the Venetians, in order to rid themselves of the Ottoman yoke. But this plan was not carried into execution, on account of the peace of Passarovichtz, which was concluded the same year, and which annulled the reciprocal arrangements of the two nations. At length the Montenegrines, irritated by some outrages committed against them, attacked the Turks, and re-took Upper Zenta, in the year 1761.

This action was succeeded by a truce of short duration. New cruelties, on the part of the Turks, again excited a storm, and the Montenegrines recked their just vengeance on the Porte, in the war which ensued between the Empress Catharine and the Turks in 1768. The Montenegrines experienced some reverses; but, though they may have seemed occasionally to bow to the Ottoman power, their homage has been a matter of form, rather than real dependence. In the year 1770, they succeeded in freeing themselves from the Turkish yoke; but, in the following year, Mehemet, Pashaw of Scutari, penetrated into Montenegro, and committed the most dreadful ravages.

The Vladika, who was attached to Russia, and relied on her

support, took up arms against the Turks, in 1788. In the following year he united his force to 400 imperial troops, under the command of Major Vinkossovich, attacked Albania, and ravaged the states of the new Pashaw of Scutari, who was meditating an incursion on Montenegro, whence he had carried off women, money, and cattle, in revenge for the union of the Montenegrines with the enemies of the Porte. Having thus openly manifested themselves alternately for the interests of Russia and Austria, it appeared both natural and just, that the Montenegrines should rely on the protection of one or other of these powers; but, on the contrary, the peace of Sistow, which was concluded in 1791, acknowledged them to be the subjects of the Porte, and delivered them over to the barbarity of their enemies. The people, indignant at this policy, swore to pay no tribute, and men, women, and children, took up arms to resist the orders of the Pashaw.

The Turks, irritated by this persevering opposition, combined their forces, and marched once more to reduce the Montenegrines to obedience. But, on this occasion, the powerful voice of liberty was heard, and its echoes resounded even to the cell of the Vladika, who joyfully joined the people in this struggle for their independence. In 1795, he united his force to the subjects of the Pashaw of Scutari, attacked the Pashaw, and wrested from the hands of his mortal enemies the remainder of the district of Upper Zenta. He fought in person, with heroic valour, against Mahmoodh Busacklia, a Pashaw, who commanded a corps of 12,000 men. In the first action the Pashaw was repulsed with considerable loss, and, at last, having imprudently charged the Montenegrines among the passes of Cettigna, he was taken prisoner, and beheaded, and his head is still to be seen in the Vladika's chamber in the convent of Cettigna.

After the defeat of Mamoodh Busacklia, the government of Montenegro approached to democracy; though, at the same time, the Vladika acquired such an ascendancy over the people that he was named Over-King. The Montenegrines have since invariably contended with the neighbouring Turkish commanders, whenever the least encroachment has been made on their liberties or the boundaries of their territory. Thus, they have never in reality been tributary either to the Turks or the Venetians. A few detached frontier villages have, it is true, been momentarily subjected by the Turks, since the year 1804; but, though the Montenegrines are under the special protection of Russia, they boast of enjoying absolute independence.

CHAPTER II.

Admission to the Territory of the Montenegrines.—Their Mode of receiving Strangers.—Difficulty of obtaining an Asylum.—Security when once obtained.

WE have now arrived at that period of the history of the Montenegrines when I entered among them. I left Cattaro on the 10th of November, 1810, having previously written to the governor to announce my arrival, a measure which was indispensable, both for my own safety, and to remove all apprehension on the part of the Montenegrines. As I approached the frontier, a detachment of twenty-four armed men saluted me with a discharge of musketry. The chief of the detachment came to meet me, leading a child who carried two flasks of wine, one white and the other red. "We will drink that which you prefer," said he. I chose the white. I observed, indeed, that they drank a great deal of white wine, of which they had an abundant supply.

The detachment of honour formed itself into two divisions; the commandant ranged himself next me, and we marched on to Verba. We advanced slowly, being frequently impeded by the state of the soil, and, besides, every object around me excited my astonishment and attention. I was soon convinced that Montenegro is not, as some writers have alleged, a country surrounded by mountains; but, on the contrary, it is itself a mountainous country, interspersed with what are called plateaus, or level heights. It rises above all the adjacent territories, and one mountain towering above all the rest is called Monte-Sella or Monte-Coelo. The common people give it the former name, because, when viewed from Castel-Nuovo or the point of Ostro, it presents the appearance of a saddle. The better-informed class of people, however, call it Monte-Coelo, as, from its extraordinary height, it appears to tower to the very heavens. Montenegro is on every side extremely difficult and dangerous of access. The only regular road is by the way of Czerniska. On every other point it presents a confused mass of rocks, intersected with frightful chasms, which seem to penetrate into the interior of the earth. The most frequented road from Cattaro to Montenegro, is by the village of Scagliari, leaving Mount Vermoz and Trinity Fort on the right, or through the hamlets of Spigliari. The latter road leads to Verba, the first Montenegrine village, and is the shortest though the most difficult course.

To form an idea of Montenegro, the reader must picture to himself three immense ranges of mountains, rising almost perpendicularly from the bosom of the ocean, and exhibiting no

traces of habitation. In ascending these mountains, the most skilful climber is at every little distance in danger of losing his balance, should he neglect the precaution of keeping his body constantly inclined towards the mountain. In other parts, the soil is covered with fragments heaped together, which give way on the slightest pressure, and render the progress of the traveller equally perilous and slow, until after incredible fatigue he reaches the first level height.

Here a rude country extends on every side, covered with fragments of rock, which have either fallen or been washed down by wild cataracts. From this spot the Adriatic is discernible in its whole extent beyond Mount Vermoz, and the mountain itself, though of considerable height, scarcely seems to rise above the surface of the sea.

By the aid of our guides we penetrated into the country by narrow paths, between the mountains so close together, and so similar in the strata of various substances of which they were composed, that there is every probability they have been separated by earthquakes. In about an hour we emerged from these intricacies, and reached the level height of the second range of mountains, whence the first range seemed to be blended with the boundless plain beneath our feet. In proportion as we advanced, the picture assumed a darker hue, and the inaccessible rocks, blackened by time, were totally devoid of verdure. We penetrated the next chain of mountains by paths even more rugged than the former, and at length arrived on the level height at the foot of Mount-Cœlo, where cold prevails at every season of the year.

On the left, towards the mountains which border Herzegovina, a considerable extent of heath affords pasture to numerous herds of cattle. On the right Mount-Cœlo rises majestically. Its summit is lost in the clouds, and the eternal snow which covers the barren part of the mountain is bounded at the point where vegetation commences, by rows of fir-trees. As we approached the tremendous Mount-Cœlo, the roaring of wild-beasts, the cries of carnivorous birds, the incessant dashing of the water, the inclemency of the atmosphere, and the claps of thunder which succeeded each other without intermission; all tended to impress us with the idea of some revolution in the laws of nature.

I could not quit this place without endeavouring to gather some information on the subject of ornithology. According to what I learned from the Montenegrines, it would appear that all the birds of their country are common to the rest of Europe: but still they afford abundant interest to naturalists, as birds of every species inhabit the country. The eagle and the vulture

are remarkable for their prodigious size. Birds of passage appear at several periods of the year, but each species is visible only for ten or twelve days. Among the wild-beasts of Montenegro, the bear, the wolf, and the wild-boar, are most remarkable; they are, however, by no means numerous, for the natives being all hunters, or shepherds, it is natural that they should adopt every precaution for preserving their flocks. They are continually armed, and continually wandering, and thus are ever on the alert to destroy mischievous animals.

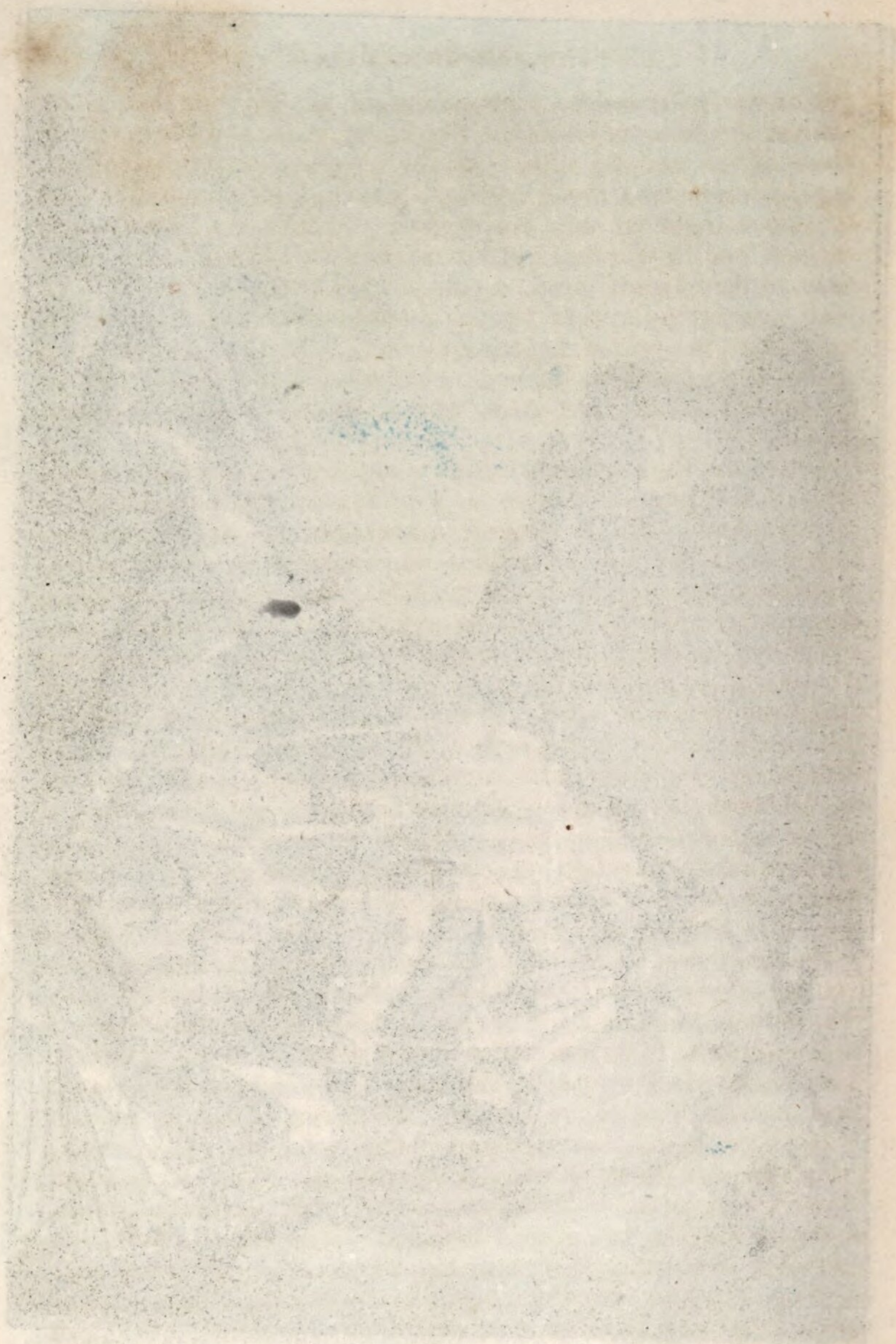
From Mount-Cœlo we directed our course towards the interior, and after four hours of horrible solitude, we arrived at Verba, the first village in the direction of Cattaro. Verba is rudely built, on a rocky soil. Here, however, the country begins to be somewhat cultivated, for hitherto we had observed only a few wild pear-trees growing here and there. Verba is one of the villages which supply the markets of Cattaro. On our way to Braich we found the ground covered with gravel; this might be supposed to render the soil barren, but, on the contrary, experience proves it to be favourable to cultivation. We occasionally observed detached huts rudely constructed of boughs and earth, and roofed with the bark of trees. They consist of only one apartment, with a fire in the centre, and men and beasts all live under one roof.

The villages of Xalassi-Mali, Xalassi-Veliki, and Zagluit, on account of their positions, are more important than is generally supposed. They overlook the whole province, and on any important event they become the rendezvous of the Montenegrines, where the orators of the country display their talent, and lay plans for enterprizes. Braich presents nothing remarkable, except the quantities of potatoes which the soil produces spontaneously. They are principally used for feeding hogs; but those of the natives who have travelled eat them, and indeed they are now beginning to be generally liked. On arriving before Braich, we found a post of Montenegrines, who had received orders to join us, after saluting us with military honours, by the usual discharge of musketry. With our party thus augmented, we arrived at Gnegussi, where the governor resides.

The governor came to meet me, accompanied by the protopapa, (or the oldest of the priests) two papas or priests with their families, and about sixty armed men of the first rank. After the customary compliments, the governor took my left hand and raised it to his right shoulder, and placed his right hand on my left shoulder. "You have come," said he, "to render me happy, by giving me a friend. I love you already, and the stars must disappear from the firmament ere you can be obliterated from my memory." He then conducted me to his house, where a



Cattaro below Montenegro.



repast was prepared for a numerous party. We marched along amidst the firing of guns, the ringing of bells, and the acclamations of the people, who, from the remotest corners of the village, thronged to the governor's house. All pressed forward to gain a sight of me; the women and children in particular seemed lost in wonder, and continually exclaimed, *Bogh! soldata od Napoleona! God! a soldier of Napoleon!* I was treated with extreme politeness by the governor and his numerous family, and the primates vied with each other for the honour of sitting near me at table, or accompanying me in my visits to the protopapa, and the *knes*, who is the chief of their temporal primates.

Gnegussi, the constant residence of the governor, has a pretty appearance from a distance. It is built on a vast circular plain, in the centre of the mountains; numerous large habitations surround it at the foot of the hills, and rising in an amphitheatre, produce a very agreeable effect. This effect, however, vanishes on a nearer approach. The houses, which, when viewed from a distance appear to form one continued line, are detached one from another, and for the most part surrounded with gardens. Gnegussi is, however, one of the most considerable villages in the country, and is the seat of the temporal authority. The Montenegrines observe no regular plan in the construction of their houses; every one is his own architect, and for any building of importance they have recourse to foreign masons. The convents and churches, together with the houses of the governor, and a few other persons of rank, are well built, and present a singular contrast to the rest of the village. Except in the temples of the Montenegrines, no traces of sculpture or ornament of any kind is observable, either in the interior or exterior of their buildings. The few articles of furniture that are here and there to be met with are of a very rude form, and those which combine utility with any thing like neatness are brought from Apulia, Trieste, or Venice. With regard to the interior of the houses, one description will suffice for all. The inhabitants sleep on mats or carpets, spread out upon the ground. The fire is kindled in the middle of the room, and large stones, or wooden stools, are placed round it. The use of furniture is indeed scarcely known among the Montenegrines; a few rude shelves, hung on the walls, serve to deposit their milk, cheese, &c. and the supply of meat necessary for their daily food. Their clothes are hung on pegs in one corner of the room; and a few boxes serve to contain any articles which they consider of value. These boxes are portable, and are used by all the people of Montenegro, where continual warfare has ever rendered permanent establishment and the security of property impracticable.

Imbued with that species of vanity common to all warlike people, their highest gratification is to possess a large assortment of arms. This is the national luxury of the Montenegrines.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Governor and the Government.

THE present governor is named Boghdano Radonich.—He is descended from a very ancient family, which has for a long time inherited the dignity of governor from father to son. This family, indeed, deserves this honour for the bravery and patriotism which have always distinguished it. Boghdano is forty years of age ; though not tall, he is very well-made, and joins a pleasing expression to regular features. His conversation is easy and sensible. The costume of the governor, on occasions of ceremony, consists of a close jacket of sky-blue satin strewed with bees of massy gold, which, from the way in which they are arranged, give it the appearance of a coat-of-mail. Over this he wears a short mantle of deep red satin, cut in the Spanish style. In winter both the mantle and jacket are made of cloth of the same colour. He wears a round hat, which upon solemn occasions is ornamented with white or black feathers, and a girdle of crimson satin embroidered with gold. His pantaloons are short and very wide, after the Turkish fashion, and his stockings are either silk or cotton. He wears by turns boots, buckled shoes, and opankas ;* but most commonly slippers similar to those worn by the Turks.

The governor, as well as the other inhabitants, always walks armed with a gun on his shoulder, a poignard about two feet long, and two pistols in his girdle. He is invested with the orders of St. George and St. Anne of Russia.

I could not avoid expressing my surprize at seeing a chief attired as a Spaniard among a people whose costume is so dissimilar, who have no sort of relation with Spain, and who have besides established, as a principle, that no one can wear any but the national dress. The circumstance was explained to me in the following manner :—About two centuries ago the ancestors of Boghdano sent a vessel to Spain, commanded by one of their family, who carried out some presents for the governor of the port where he intended to land. He received different articles in return, and among them an exceedingly rich Spanish

* Opankas are a kind of buskins resembling the Roman cothurni.



Costume of the Governor.

dress. On the return of the ship the governor, on observing that the people greatly admired this dress, resolved to adopt it, and the custom has continued ever since. I am, however, of opinion that the costume of the governor had a different origin. It is known that the Spaniards were long in possession of the Dalmatian coast from Sabioncello to the Albanian territory, and that they formed establishments on the confines of Morlachia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro, in order to secure their conquests against any attack from those quarters. They built, in the territory of Castel-Nuovo, a fort of some importance, which still bears the name of the Spanish Fort; and as there is no doubt that the Montenegrine people, or at least their chiefs, maintained an intercourse with the Spanish leaders, they may have received presents of dress from them, or adopted the Spanish costume as the model of their own. Originally the Montenegrine governors wore the gunine, or short cassock, which is the real national dress, without any other distinction than the girdle and surtout, which resembled what we call a spencer.

The governor's family is very numerous; he himself has seven children, who live in the same house with his brothers, sisters, and other relations: his wife regulates his household. It must not be imagined that this Montenegrine chief inhabits a sumptuous palace, that he has guards and a brilliant court. Parade of this kind has not yet become necessary to ensure the respect of the people, whom he rules by the strictest justice. His residence is like one of our rich farmer's houses. I could not avoid evincing some surprize at the simplicity of his habitation; he perceived it, and one day said to me with much kindness:—"I would wish to receive you in a way more worthy of your merits—You overwhelm me with benefits—my house, it is true, does not in any respect resemble that of a chief; but no matter, my happiness depends on its being as it is." I replied, that the inhabitants of a palace were not the most happy, and that his attentions pleased me much more than the constrained politeness I might receive under the most splendid roof. The governor, as well as the vladika, lives on his private revenues. I was told that he received an annual pension of 6000 ducats from Russia, but in conversing one day on the subject he seemed to deny it.

To obtain some knowledge of the forms of the Montenegrine government I could not of course do better than consult a man who was one of its principal members. I therefore applied to the governor, who furnished me with minute information on the subject. Originally the Montenegrine chiefs were chosen by the people. Each village elected a vaivode or captain of the

community. Each nahia, or province, department or district, made choice of two chiefs, called sardars; and the supreme chief of the nation was chosen by the sardars, and received the title of governor. Sometimes the whole body of the people elected the governor, and they have also occasionally deposed, and even beheaded him. This form of government, however, no longer exists. The present government consists of :—first, the vladika, or prince-bishop; second, the governor; and third, five sardars, or chiefs of nahia, to operate as a check on the two first, and preserve an equilibrium of power. The governor and the five sardars are elected by the knes, who, in their turn, are chosen by the vaivodes, and the latter are appointed by the communities. Peter Petrovich, the present vladika, since his accession, has arrogated to himself all the power of the state, and has left merely the shadow of authority in the hands of the governor and the sardars. The people boast of being the freest in the world, though the vladika and other chiefs hold them in great subjection, and violent insurrections occasionally arise. Some years since, with the consent of Russia, a tribunal called the klutuk was established for the administration of justice. No funds, however, have lately been forwarded from Russia for the support of this establishment, and the governor expressed to me his great regret for the suspension of the only resources which might enable him to establish among his people the institutions of Europe.

Montenegro affords a convincing proof that laws and customs have their real origin in the wants and distinct character of each nation—in local circumstances or historical events. The governor of Montenegro, though he acknowledged and lamented the defects of the institutions of his country, still maintained that they were better than those of other nations. The reader will not therefore be surprised to hear that Montenegro does not yet possess any political or civil constitution. All the rights and interests of the people are dependent on custom, which have either been preserved by tradition, or registered in manuscripts, deposited in the archives of the convent of Cetigné. In common civil cases the chiefs of communities, together with one or two primates, exercise the functions of judges. The knes, the primates, and the vaivodes, decide the more important causes, and their sentences are finally ratified by the bishop. In criminal causes, however, and particularly in cases of homicides, the family of the deceased, without awaiting the decision of a superior tribunal, immediately avenges the outrage on the family of the aggressor, destroying his property and murdering his relations. These cases occur but seldom, yet, when they

do happen, they give rise to scenes of the most dreadful confusion and bloodshed, which are finally appeased by pecuniary punishments, and public censure.

Thus it is remarkable that no crime, however great, is punished by death among the Montenegrines, the least civilized people in Europe. When I made some observations on this subject to the governor, "Ah," said he, with much feeling, "it would be worthy of nations more wise, and more enlightened, to obliterate the punishment of death from their criminal code; they condemn homicide, while, at the same time, they juridically consecrate it. Is it just that the law should deprive a man of what it cannot again restore to him?"

The use of annual contributions, determined by anterior laws, is absolutely unknown at Montenegro; the assessments depend on the wants of the state; agriculture, commerce, hunting, and the use of water and the woods, are free to every one. Fishing only is prohibited; it is reserved for the Vladika.

CHAPTER IV.

Observations on the Government, &c. continued.—Public Festivals.

ON the third day after our arrival at Gnegussi, the governor gave a public entertainment, which was attended by all classes of the people. This afforded me an excellent opportunity for observation. The Montenegrines are in general tall and well-made, with regular features; they combine a bold, determined, and even haughty expression; which, by imparting an appearance of severity, seems, at first sight, to justify the opinion which has been erroneously entertained of their want of humanity. All wear the mustachio, and the greatest insult that can be offered them is to touch it or speak of it with contempt. The following anecdote will afford a proof of the reverence in which the mustachio is held. On the 6th of August, 1810, two Italian soldiers entered a casino or public-house, and, one of them taking hold of the mustachio of a mountaineer, who was there, said to him, *Dobro Jutro brate*, (good day, brother) upon which the Montegrine fired his pistol at him, and immediately disappeared. They always shave the fore-part of the head, and, in general, allow their beards to grow, or at least shave very seldom; they never cut their nails.

The following is the result of the last census, taken in 1812. It includes Upper Zenta:—

Names of Provinces	Number of Houses	Number of armed Men.
1st. Katunska - - -	947 - -	2,000
2d. Rieska - - -	989 - -	1,559
3d. Piessivaska - -	277 - -	482
4th. Gliesanska - -	1,365 - -	2,384
5th. Czerniska - -	714 - -	1,560
Greek villages - -	1,250 - -	3,400
Catholic villages - -	549 - -	1,720
Total - - -	6,091 - -	13,105

Number of Inhabitants	{ Montenegro - - 32,680	} 53,168
	{ Greek villages - 13,600	
	{ Catholic villages - 6,888	

From this estimate it is easy to perceive that Montenegro was formerly much more populous than at present, and that it has declined greatly. The cause must be attributed to their continual dissensions with the Turks, and the great famines and scarcity by which the country has been visited during long wars. In the above estimate, the number of men in arms is stated at 13,105. But this number must be considered relatively, for, in cases of emergency, the army is composed of all the able-bodied men in the country. At Montenegro it is no uncommon thing for men near a century old to devote their last years to the defence of their homes. It may, therefore, without exaggeration, be alledged that in case of an unexpected incursion, every man in the country would, on the first signal, take up arms and march to the point attacked. Founding my calculation on authentic documents, as well as on the results of experience, I can confidently assert that in twelve hours 7 or 8,000 men could be assembled on any point; and, in twenty-four hours, this number might be increased to 20,000. The Montenegrines are very expert in the use of their arms. They take aim with the greatest accuracy at any distance. Only men naturally incapable of serving are exempt from bearing arms, and it often happens that even invalids forego the dispensation made in their favour, and hasten to the defence of their native land. In the last war against Mamouth Busaklia, Pashaw of Scutari, Giuro Lottochich was confined to his bed by a severe fracture of the leg. During the action which preceded the defeat and death of the Pashaw, Giuro insisted that he should be carried to a hill from which he could fire on the enemy; no remonstrances could divert him from this resolution. He continued to fire during three hours, propped against a hill. When the victory was announced to him, he exclaimed, "It is just in time, for I have no more cartridges, and I should have died of rage had I been compelled to surrender."



A Woman of Montenegro.

CHAPTER V.

The National Costume.—Of the Montenegrine Women.

THE Montenegrines wear dresses of a very thick kind of knitted stuff, resembling serge. The principal part of the dress is usually of a greyish-white colour; other colours are used without distinction, but blue is most common. The dress consists of a gunine or jacket, made in the Grecian style, with wide sleeves, and clasped on the breast. One of the corners of this jacket is turned up on the left side, and forms a triangle; a waistcoat is worn under the dress and is not seen. The shirt, which is without a collar, and not confined within the trowsers, hangs down to the knees, and forms a sort of short petticoat. Tight pantaloons, or very wide trowsers, of the Turkish fashion, are worn indiscriminately; they are tied round the waist by a thong of leather; and, at the bottom, are confined by a net trimming, which also serves to fasten woollen socks of variegated colours. Their shoes are not made in the European manner with leather soles, but consist of a single piece of goat-skin, made to fit close to the foot. On festival-days they wear above the jacket a waistcoat, without sleeves, of green crimson, or black velvet, embroidered with silk. The head is covered in summer, as well as winter, with a cap of red or violet-coloured cloth, fastened on with a handkerchief like a turban. In addition to the clasp on the breast, the jacket is fastened round the waist, by a long woollen scarf of different colours, and also by a large leather strap; to which are affixed, on the right side, two little cartridge-boxes. They also wear pistols in their girdles, and their guns are of the most excellent description. The men usually carry a kind of knapsack on the left shoulder, for food, and, on the right, a flask holding about two pints. They muffle themselves up in a kind of shawl, made of goats' hair, ornamented with long fringe at the ends. This shawl is impenetrable to the rain, but is intended to preserve the arms from the effects of the damp. A Montenegrine never goes abroad unless furnished with all his arms; and he is never to be seen without having in his hand or mouth a pipe, with a long tube, and ornamented with an amber mouth-piece. Nobody can change the national dress, by modifying or increasing it in any respect. As soon as a Montenegrine returns from a foreign country, he must immediately throw off its costume, and re-assume that of his own nation.

The women of Montenegro are well-made, though of small stature, in comparison with the men. They have large and

expressive eyes, and the finest teeth imaginable. Their skins are somewhat swarthy, as they are almost all accustomed to labour in the open air; but those, on the contrary, who are engaged in domestic duties within-doors, have complexions of the purest white and red. They all suckle their own children, a practice which contributes in no slight degree to give them that healthful constitution which characterizes the whole population of Montenegro, where women, as well as men, possess extraordinary vigour of body.

The women are, in general, not so well-dressed as the men. Their costume consists of a long and wide tunic without sleeves, worn over an under-dress of still greater length, and with very wide sleeves, embroidered in the ancient Grecian style. The under-dress, which serves the purpose of a petticoat, is edged round the bottom with embroidery of coloured worsted. A square apron, ornamented all over with worsted embroidery, and edged with fringe, is tied under the tunic, which is open in front. Round their waists is fastened a broad leather girdle, ornamented with various kinds of needle-work, and they wear gold or silver rings on their fingers, in their ears, or on their heads, but all coarsely made.

They wear the same kind of cap as the men, but without any handkerchief; long plaits of hair, hanging down on either side, are their only head-ornaments. Their shoes are the same as the men's. The head-dress of unmarried women consists of a cap, of the ordinary form, to which are fastened a great number of coins, which nearly cover the whole of the forehead. These coins are, for the most part, Turkish piastres, or common counters and medals. The very young girls wear a cloth cap of different colours, chiefly red or black, with a tuft of black feathers.

My departure from Gnegussi was already fixed, but was retarded by the following circumstance. Theodizzi, one of the sisters-in-law of the governor, had been recently delivered. On the governor being informed of the event, he proposed that I should stand godfather to the child, and that it should be named after me. I thanked him for the compliment he paid me, for the Montenegrines consider it the highest mark of honour to ask a person to be godfather to a child, and it is accounted a great insult to decline the office.

The ceremony took place on the following day, and was performed in the presence of a numerous assemblage. This sacrament may be administered either at church, or at home; and, in the present instance, the christening took place at the governor's house. Instead of a man and woman, two men stand as



A Man of Montenegro.

sponsors for the child. The ceremony differs but little from ours, and is the same for both sexes, with this difference, that when a girl is christened, a veil is held over her until the priest is ready for the aspersions. The prayers are extremely long. The most remarkable part of the ceremony is, the frequency and abundance of the aspersions. The child is half-drowned with water, and cried furiously the whole time.

To the ceremony of baptism is added the burning of incense, and the presentation of wine. On a table is placed a vase, containing some kind of grain mixed with water and honey, and round it wax-tapers are burnt; after the first aspersion, the papa or priest offers a spoonful to every one present. When the child is placed in the cradle, some attributes of its sex are deposited beside it; for instance, if a boy, guns, pistols, &c. The father having shewn these arms to all the company, kisses them, places them on the lips of his son, and then lays them in the cradle, at the right hand of the child. This ceremony is performed with an air of seriousness and gravity which sufficiently attests the importance that is attached to it. The firing of musketry, and the ringing of bells, continue during the whole time, though the christening should take place in a private house, and the breakfast or dinner, according to the time of day, concludes the ceremony.

On the occasion in question the governor gave a grand banquet. The utmost gaiety prevailed, and a great number of healths and toasts were drunk. The following are a few of the good wishes that were expressed in favour of the young infant. They, of course, lose much in being deprived of their rhymes, and the laconic spirit of the Illyrian language. May wisdom be his inheritance!—May his soul be mild as moon-light!—May honey flow in his heart!—May he ever be an irreconcilable enemy to the Turks!—May he die out of his bed!—May he always continue free!

The questions which I found it necessary to ask respecting the ceremony of the baptism, introduced to my knowledge some curious particulars relative to the customs observed by women in pregnancy and child-birth.

During pregnancy, the women of Montenegro observe no particular regimen, nor do they suspend, in any way, their accustomed labours or journeys, for even to the last extremity they are in the habit of carrying heavy burdens. They are generally delivered in the fields or woods without any assistance. When in some degree recovered, they take the child up in their aprons, and carry it to the nearest stream or fountain, where they wash it, and immediately return to their work.

For three or four months after their birth, the children are wrapped up in old rags; they are then suffered to crawl about as they please, while their mothers labour without doors. Every child is suckled by its mother till she again becomes pregnant, and though that should not be for the space of five or six years, still the child receives no other nutriment than its mother's milk.

When the birth of a child is made known, the relations and friends send cakes to the mother, made of maize and honey, and a feast is given called *habiné*.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure for the Convent of St. Basil.

THE people all assembled on my departure from Gnegussi. When I quitted the governor's house, a discharge of musketry was fired, and the proto-papa and papa gave me their benediction. When we reached the extremity of the village, my detachment fired a salute, which was answered by the armed men of the place. My design was to traverse Montenegro in every direction, and to observe every place of importance. I should have preferred, in the first instance, to have proceeded to the residence of the Vladika; but, having learned that he was to be absent for some weeks, I determined to visit the convent of St. Basil, for of the miracles performed in it I had heard a great deal. I accordingly directed my course towards the west, by the way of Mount Buccovizza.

We had arrived within gun-shot of the hamlet of Buccovizza, and I presumed we had only to enter it with the freedom which is common throughout Montenegro, when, to my astonishment, my escort suddenly halted, and conversed together with an air of mystery. At length the chief of the escort advanced about fifteen or twenty paces, and exclaimed with a loud voice, "Let the first who hears me take warning that we wish to enter the hamlet!"—A woman appeared. "What do you want?" said she.—"To enter your village." Three men then made their appearance. "Who are you?"—"Montenegrines."—"Where do you wish to go?"—"To St. Basil, to pay our devotions to the saint."—"Make your signals."—The chief then made certain signs with his hand. "You may enter." It must be observed, that during this dialogue, all the armed men of the village hastily assembled, while the dogs, being all

collected by a whistle, formed a strong battalion ready to oppose our entrance. The Montenegrine dogs are of a peculiar species, being covered with bristly hair of a dark grey colour. In form and ferocity they resemble wolves, and they make a horrible growling at the approach of a stranger. I am an old soldier, yet I must confess, that I have often felt more alarm at sight of a host of these dogs, than ever I experienced on the approach of the enemy.

We entered the village, and the papa presented himself at the head of the peasantry. "Welcome," said he, "you shall be treated as members of our family." My travelling companion and I, together with the chief of the escort, were lodged in the house of the papa. He asked us to dine with him, and we readily accepted his invitation. We sat down to table without any cloth, and were not supplied with glasses, spoons, or forks; but, in return, we had abundance of roast meat, fish, and heath-cocks, which, for delicacy, may be compared to pheasants. They are eaten with a kind of pudding composed of butter and maize flour. Instead of bread, we were furnished with a sort of cake, which is baked under the ashes. The desert consisted of cheese, dried figs, and fruits of various kinds. The wine was indifferent, and we all drank one after the other, out of the same wooden bowl. The church of the village is more like a decayed barn than a place of worship. It stands in a hollow, surrounded by broken fragments of rock, the interstices of which are filled up by trees and thickets of evergreen.

We next directed our course to Schieclich, a commune of some importance, situated in a very fertile part of the country, to the west, at the foot of Mount Buccovizza. An immense circular valley unexpectedly lay before us. It was, to all appearance, totally inaccessible; but our guides led us down by means of steps rudely cut in the naked rocks, which are destitute of all traces of vegetation. It was night when we entered the place; but far from experiencing any difficulty, the people seemed to be expecting us. The papa received us, and assigned lodgings for us all, though we were thirty in number, and found a company of sixty already met. For it was the day of the family festival, and all the members were assembled. We were shivering with cold, and also somewhat wet with the rain that had fallen. Both men and women eagerly came to offer us assistance, and they did it with a feeling of hospitality which might have done honour to the golden age. I never saw any assemblage of people so truly cheerful. The wines of Czerniska flowed liberally, and prepared the

guests for an agreeable repast. At length supper was served up. I was placed at a table reserved for the chief of the commune, the papa, and his wife; for, in Montenegro, priests are permitted to marry. The rest of the guests were distributed at two tables, formed of rough planks of wood, on which were placed large flat basins of tinned copper. Several sheep, roasted whole, were speedily dispatched. The Montenegrines eat but little bread, while they consume vast quantities of roast meat. During the repast songs were sung, and prayers offered up, in which every one joined. Proverbs and toasts were repeated, and the company laughed, sang, and joked, without neglecting, for a moment, to shew every mark of politeness to their visitors.

The festival, or *sacra*, is a solemn day, which in every house is devoted to the assemblage of all the members of the family. On this occasion every article of value is displayed, and the festival, on the whole, costs considerable expense. It is held in such high esteem by the Montenegrines, that to omit it would be regarded as a sure sign of embarrassed circumstances, and the family would lose its credit. Those who are in danger of not possessing sufficient money to defray the expenses, usually dispose of any articles of value that they can spare, to enable them to provide the feast in a suitable way. It is customary to invite allied families, and even infants at the breast are admitted; consequently, these meetings are numerously attended. One or more priests are always present. The repast consists of three or four courses. Before the guests sit down to table, the priest delivers a long prayer, which he recites slowly, and with the most ludicrous contortions. The priest, or master of the house, and the person who, next to him, is held in the highest estimation, serve out the dishes standing opposite to each other. A large round loaf of bread is brought to the priest, who cuts it in the form of a cross, down as far as the lower crust, but without separating it. He pours copious libations of wine into the incision, and then divides the loaf into two equal parts, one of which he keeps, and hands the other to his coadjutor. The latter distributes it in small pieces among the guests, by whom it is treasured up as something of great value. The priest then offers the other half of the loaf to the mistress of the house, who bows and thanks him, but, at the same time, declines to accept it, in order that it may be offered to the most distinguished guest. The priest, and the person to whom it is presented, take hold of the piece of bread, which is to be separated in two; and, in breaking it, each endeavours to appropriate to himself the largest portion of the lower crust. He

who gains this advantage, is saluted with the plaudits of the whole company, and has the honour of presenting the bread and a bottle of wine to the mistress of the house. During this ceremony the mistress burns incense through the apartment, and she afterwards receives the bread and wine with an air of triumphant satisfaction. On the table is placed a vessel, containing wheat boiled in water and honey. A taper fixed up in the middle of the wheat burns from the beginning to the end of the feast. The mistress takes the vase and offers a spoonful of the wheat to each guest, and the remainder is thrown about the apartment as a token of abundance.

Previous to the third course, there is an offering of wine, which is distributed by the mistress. It is preceded by a short prayer, hymn, and benedictions. Only one glass is allowed to each person; but every one endeavours, amidst the confusion, to snatch another glass without being perceived. Thus the mistress is obliged to be constantly on her guard, and it is reckoned an extraordinary instance of address if she succeed in preventing the guests from taking any thing beyond their specified allowance. Immediately after this ceremony the ecclesiastics withdraw, lest their presence should operate as a restraint on the gaiety of the company; the conversation then becomes noisy, and the laughter of the guests is mingled with the sound of the monochord and pipe. The Montenegrines burn neither oil nor tallow, their tapers are made of narrow slips of fir-tree wood.

At Schieclich I met with a man who had lived to see the sixth generation of his family. The old man himself was 117 years of age, his son was 100, his grandson nearly eighty-two, and his great-grandson had attained his sixtieth year; the son of the latter was forty-three, his son twenty-one, and his grandchild two years of age. The old man, in his 117th year, was lively and active. He remained at table until the last prayer was repeated, and he then asked leave to retire: immediately all the guests rose, and in respectful silence advanced by turns to kiss the breast of the old man, and receive his blessing. Similar instances of longevity are by no means rare in Montenegro, where habitual temperance, the salubrity of the water and food, and the excellence of the climate, have, of course, a beneficial effect on the human constitution. The remainder of the evening was spent in various national games, during which the utmost decorum and harmony were observed. It was ten o'clock when I retired to rest. A little chamber was allotted to the chasseur and myself, in a pavillion detached from the rest of the house, and they carefully fastened the door, though a guard was stationed on the outside.

We had no sooner fallen into our first sleep, than we were roused by a loud firing and repeated cries, joined to the barking of all the dogs in the neighbourhood. We immediately rose and begun to look about us for weapons of defence. My companion found the barrel of a gun, and I happened to light on a small pitchfork. Thus armed we stationed ourselves against the entrance of the apartment, determined to defend ourselves with all our might. At length the door opened, and, what was our astonishment to behold the man of a century old with whom we had supped, and who thus addressed us in the Illyrian language: "Do not disturb yourselves, gentlemen: one of my sheep-folds has been threatened by robbers, and the guard has given the signal of alarm, to which we are answering, to inform them that we are on our defence. My father begs you will not disturb yourselves, and he sends you a *Dobravi noce*, (good night.)"

We departed from Schieclich at day-break; the weather was delightful. It is difficult to form an idea of the magical effect produced by Montenegro, when the first rays of the morning sun gild the innumerable hills covered with trees, presenting a thousand various tints of green. The village of Bielizze is about three miles distant from Schieclich. It stands on a height which is observable from a great distance. On this eminence nets are spread to catch the ravens, which settle there twice every year, for about fifteen or twenty days. At these periods the inhabitants of Bielizze consume no other food than the flesh of the ravens, which, in their opinion, contributes to longevity. It is true, that the natives of this part of Montenegro live to a very advanced age; but, it must be considered, that they inhabit a hilly and an open country, and are removed from every thing that can have an injurious tendency on the health. On arriving at this village, we found only women and some feeble old men, who informed us that their cattle had been carried off by a large party of robbers, and that the young men were gone in pursuit of them. Our escort immediately set out in the direction which the robbers had taken, and, early next morning, returned accompanied by the villagers, bringing back their cattle, together with the heads of two of the robbers.

On the following day we departed for Tomich, where we arrived at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and partook of some refreshment. Tomich is a miserable hamlet, and is remarkable for nothing except the stupid pride of its inhabitants, and the ruinous state of the houses. On leaving the village, we observed some boys engaged in a game which I will endeavour to describe. At about six feet from the wall of a church, or any other building, two wooden rods are fixed perpendicularly, and in a

parallel line, at the distance of about one foot from each other, they are crossed at the top by a piece of wood, through which a hole is made by a gimblet, in order to admit a small cord; this cord hangs down as far as the waist of the player, and a ball, about the size of those used at billiards, is fastened to the end of it. A circle, about six inches in diameter, is traced out on the wall. The player takes the ball in his hand, and aims at hitting the circle without altering the tension of the cord. To reckon a point, the ball must not merely enter the circle, but in rebounding must pass between the two rods without touching them. The player who first gains twelve points is declared the victor.

We arrived early at Cevo; this village differs but little from Gnegussi; the country is even more open, and the soil, although flint in most parts, is nevertheless cultivated and fertile. The people of this village have a very wild appearance. They differ widely from those of the inhabitants of Gnegussi, who maintain daily intercourse with Cattaro. At Cevo, children came to lay hold of the buttons of my coat, which appeared strongly to attract their attention. Having perceived one of them endeavouring to cut off one with a knife, I offered him a piece of money, which he refused with disdain; I then gave him a button, and he appeared highly gratified. A second presented himself to obtain one, which I gave him. The chief of the escort then dispersed the crowd, and I escaped with the loss of only two buttons. After considerable delay, an abode was offered to us, and we entered the first house we came to; we were presented with wine as a token of friendship. We were lodged at the house of an old soldier, who held the rank of brigadier at the age of ninety-four; this man had travelled through many parts of Muscovy, and was perfectly well acquainted with Sweden, Venice, and the principal towns of Italy, as well as the south of France. He still remembered a little French, and spoke Italian very well. He was a man of considerable information, having seen much of the world, and being naturally of an active and intelligent turn of mind.

CHAPTER VII.

Remains of Roman Roads.—Dangerous Rencontre with a Party of Turks.—Example of Courage in a Woman.—Montenegrine Sun-dials.

DURING my stay at Cevo, I received the strongest marks of kindness from my host; he supplied us abundantly with every

thing, but especially with food, which, among the Montenegrines, is a token of the greatest esteem. It being reported that the Turks had shewn themselves on the heights of Lastovich, our escort was doubled, and we departed at break of day. On the road from Cevo to Rettichi, through the woods, are the remains of a Roman road, which ran in the direction from Risano to Constantinople, through Montenegro. This is the *via Pentaguriana*, of which Lucius Junius speaks. It extends by many ramifications through the whole of Illyricum, where vestiges of it still remain, principally in Bosnia, from the road between Jani Serajevo to Pristina, and from Castel-Nuovo, where still exists a Roman bridge, to the right of Spanish Fort. From thence it runs along by ancient Neronia, towards the Point of Vido, in the direction of the old convent, and leads into Istria and Italy. We took every precaution, during our march, to secure ourselves against any sudden attack, and always kept a strong party both in advance and in our rear. About eleven o'clock, we perceived several Turks on an eminence, which commanded the passage. The Montenegrines instantly examined their arms; the chief gave orders for a prompt movement, which I did not comprehend, and said to me, "If they wait for us, you shall soon see their heads at your feet." They then darted forward, without giving me time to follow them, and, in the twinkling of an eye, they reached the foot of the mountain occupied by the Turks; a brisk firing took place on both sides, but the Turks, judging from our numbers that they would have the worst of the contest, retired precipitately, and in the greatest disorder, leaving one of their party dead and two wounded; the latter were immediately seized and decapitated, and their heads were brought in triumph to me. This spectacle caused me many painful sensations, and made me more than once regret having undertaken this journey. I knew, indeed, that it was conformable to the military laws of these people, to cut off the heads of their enemies who have the misfortune to fall into their hands. They fix them on poles on the tops of mountains, and in the most frequented roads on the frontiers. They would not shew any favour even to a sovereign in such circumstances. Many of our brave countrymen, and, among others, General Delgorgues, have fallen victims to this barbarous practice. At the siege of Castel-Nuovo, instances of singular atrocity occurred; some Montenegrines, in a fit of intoxication, amused themselves by playing at nine-pins with the heads of some Frenchmen, and, at the same time, directing insulting language towards them, "See, see," said they every moment, "how roundly these Frenchmen's heads roll;"—a cruel irony on the imputed levity of the French nation. We

quicken'd our march, in order to arrive early at Ceretti, that we might supply ourselves with provisions. At Ceretti I resolved to visit a chapel in the neighbourhood of the mountains. Our journey thither was agreeable, though somewhat fatiguing. We stopped for some hours at a village, where we found the peasants disgustingly vulgar and ignorant on every subject. We saw nothing worthy of notice here except an *Ecce homo* in the church, painted by an artist named Martini. It is by no means a contemptible production, and certainly the best painting I saw in the whole country. The account which is given of its discovery partakes of the errors of the earliest periods of superstition. The picture, they say, fell from heaven at the foot of a shepherd, who carried it to the curate of the village. We soon passed through a wild country; which as far as Bichisi is almost inaccessible. During the whole journey there is not a spot of verdure to relieve the eye; no trace of a living being; not even of a bird to interrupt the dismal solitude.

About eleven years ago this desert was the scene of a singular act of presence of mind and determined courage. Four Montenegrines, accompanied by their sister, aged twenty-one, went on a pilgrimage to St. Basil. They were surprised by seven Turks on one of the defiles of the mountains, which was so extremely narrow, that only one person could pass at a time. The Turks fired suddenly upon them, by which one of the Montenegrines was killed, and another wounded. The female seized the musket of her dead brother, and continued to fire upon the Turks till her other brothers were also disabled. The Montenegrines, however, had defended themselves so well, that only one Turk remained alive out of the seven. On seeing this man approach her, the unfortunate girl stood still for a moment, but suddenly affecting an air of terror and supplication, she implored his mercy. The Turk, irritated at the defeat of his companions, would only grant her life at the expense of her honour. She hesitated, but at last pretended that she would accede to his wishes;—when she suddenly plunged into his bowels the dagger which she wore in her girdle, and left the instrument of her vengeance in the body of the mussulman. Though mortally wounded, the Turk was still bent on revenge, and drawing the dagger from his body, he tottered towards the wretched woman, who in despair threw herself on her enemy, and by a sudden effort precipitated him into the neighbouring abyss, at the moment when some shepherds, attracted by the long continued firing, had come to her aid. The recital of this interesting story occupied our attention, until we arrived at Ceretti. We were presented on our entrance with wine and

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some fried potatoes in a wooden bowl. We were lodged in the house of the primate Zarelich, who immediately gave orders for killing some lambs and kids, and making some bread and cakes for our entertainment. From all I have seen I am convinced that the Montenegrines live well, though temperately. They take their meals at the hours customary with Europeans. All the family eat at one time, but the men and the women are separated. They all sit on the ground in the Turkish manner, or on very low stools. They have no table-cloth, and usually make use of a small branch of a tree, divided at each end, instead of a fork. Their food consists chiefly of herbs, seasoned only with a little salt, or of milk, eggs, and salt-fish; they likewise consume a great quantity of onions and garlick, which render their breath very disagreeable. The common drink is water, but when the men make a journey of any length they carry wine with them.

Every time that I took out my watch to learn the hour it was regarded by the natives with a sort of stupid wonder, and I was asked a thousand questions concerning it. I found that it was only within these eight years that watches had been used in that part of Montenegro bordering upon Dalmatia. In the other parts they are totally unknown. The people of Zante, especially, have no idea of them. A Montenegrine soldier, on hearing the motion of a watch he had taken at the siege of Ragusa, was seized with terror, and believing that it contained an evil spirit, threw it on the ground, and broke it to pieces with stones. When I asked how they ascertained the time of the day without clocks or watches, I was told that they did so by means of sun-dials, which were made by a man named Zuanovich. The next morning I visited Zuanovich, who shewed me one of his sun-dials. It was a stone lying horizontally, with a polished surface, on which were traced three marks, denoting sun-rise, noon, and sun-set. But, said I, the intervals leave you in uncertainty—"We judge of them by comparison," replied he. I inquired by what rule he was guided in making his calculations. He said, "I mark the place for the style, and introduce it without fixing it, which I only do definitively after repeated observations."

CHAPTER VIII.

Singular Fountain.—Trait of the Montenegrine Character.—Attachment of the Men to their Wives.—Story of two young Women.—Remarks on the Female Sex.

AFTER three days stay at Ceretti we set out for Bichisi. About a mile from Ceretti there is a curious fountain, called

Vodelizza. It flows abundantly in a column of about six inches in diameter, during the night, but declines gradually until the middle of the day, especially if the weather be warm, and then rises again progressively as evening advances. We had not proceeded above half a league when we were met by two Montenegrines of the upper mountains. Many compliments passed on both sides; but I observed that most of my escort remained at a distance from one of the strangers, and treated him with such contempt, that he at length retired in confusion. When I inquired the cause of this, "he is a murderer!" exclaimed one of my party indignantly. Without having received any offence, but merely from a spirit of savage cruelty, of which, fortunately, this is almost a solitary example, perceiving a man on a height whom he did not know, he said to one of his companions; "I will bet you a pipe of tobacco I kill him at the first shot."—"Agreed," said the other. He fired, killed the man, received the pipe of tobacco, and ran to plunder his victim, when, horrible to relate, it proved to be his brother! "Some time after," said another of my people, "while this same man was living at Cattaro, he applied to an inhabitant of that town for the payment of a debt."—"Will you pay or not?" said he. "No, I cannot," was the reply. He then shot the man dead with his pistol, and instantly fled. It was consolatory to observe the indignation which all my escort expressed on this occasion. The same men whom the slightest offence provokes to fury, revolt at the thought of murder, when not roused by passion. On our arrival at Bichisi we were received by the soldiery, the papas, and the primates. They were surrounded by a multitude of spectators, and preceded by some women and children, carrying bowls of milk, which they offered me. I drank heartily of the first, supposing I should thereby fulfil the laws of etiquette, but I found it necessary to partake of the contents of four more bowls. This seemed to please the people, and we entered the town amidst the loudest acclamations.

We were taken to the house of the primate Jurovich, a man of understanding and amiable manners. His conversation was highly instructive, and it enabled me to make many observations on the customs and manners of the people, particularly respecting their affection for their wives. Conversing one day upon this subject, Jurovich complained of the opinion which was generally entertained of the indifference of the Montenegrines towards their wives, and denied that the women were, as was asserted, kept in a state of slavery. "We treat our wives," said he, "better than you treat yours." In the choice of a wife you are often determined by interest, or sometimes by beauty.

We only marry from mutual affection. The charms of beauty are merely the sport of fortune; the slightest illness may destroy them like a tender flower, which blooms and withers in a day.

Among the Montenegrines if an unmarried woman become pregnant, it is a calamity, not only for her own family, but for the whole nation. Prayers are offered up in the churches, and people speak of it as of an affair of state. The unfortunate victim is driven from her paternal home, and no one dare openly offer her an asylum; she is compelled to seek concealment in some cavern, where she probably perishes from hunger, or is devoured by wild beasts. Sometimes she leaves the country; and, sometimes, resolved not to survive her shame, throws herself from some high rock. A very beautiful girl of this country, named Nika, formed a connexion at Cattaro, with a French serjeant; she became pregnant, and for some time concealed her situation, but her sister and mother having discovered it, their natural affection was so overpowered by the influence of public opinion, that they dragged the unfortunate girl to the woods, tied her to a tree, and tore the child, living, from her body. Fortunately, such acts of horror are very rare in Montenegro. The women are naturally of a mild disposition. They are constant in their attachments, but they are also very jealous, and will proceed to the greatest lengths to take revenge on a faithless lover. Maria Glavinovich, a girl of good family, was beloved by a young Montenegrine, Sava Jussich. After cohabiting with her for some time, the young man deserted her. Maria employed every means in her power to induce her betrayer to marry her. She wept and threatened by turns, but in vain. At length the young man, to rid himself of her importunities, said he would marry her at the expiration of eight days. Maria instantly drew forth the image of the Virgin, and entreated him to swear by it. The sight of this revered image, by which the Montenegrines never swear in vain, discovered the falsehood of her unfaithful lover. He became confused; and, after some hesitation, declared he would not swear. The frantic girl then snatched his poignard, stabbed him to the heart, and then plunged it into her own bosom. Another girl, named Jane Stilich, after a courtship of a year, was about to be married to a young man named Dragho Collovich; but her lover was unexpectedly compelled to go abroad. He was absent for six years; and, upon his return, he refused to marry Jane, who had continued faithful to him, and paid his addresses to another girl. Jane, broken-hearted at the unkindness of her lover, starved herself to death. When this circumstance was made known, the parents of the girl

whom Dragho was courting refused to let her marry him; the young men refused to associate with him; and it was several years before a girl would speak to Dragho.

CHAPTER IX.

Sports and Amusements of the Montenegrines.—Manner of conversing at a distance practised in Montenegro.

THE papa of Bichisi informed me, that the Montenegrines were celebrated for the excellence of their skill in wrestling, their pugilistic contests, playing at bowls, quoits, &c. I had no opportunity of witnessing any wrestling or pugilistic contest; all that I heard on these subjects appeared to me improbable. The Bichisians have the reputation of being the best players at quoits. They practice continually, but their mode of playing differs from ours. Three hoops, of different dimensions, are placed on the ground, before the players, at the distance of a foot from each other. The players stand at the distance of thirty feet from the hoops, and a rope is placed so as to prevent them from overstepping the mark; they rest the left foot on a little stake behind them, which rises about four inches from the ground. In this position the player tries to throw the quoit into the first hoop. If he succeed, besides gaining a point, he is entitled to throw at the second hoop; and, if his quoit enter it, he marks double, and throws again. Should he also throw it into the third, he wins the game. In the event of the first player not succeeding, the other players throw successively, observing the same rules. The quoit is almost large enough to cover the last hoop, and it usually weighs eight, and sometimes ten pounds.

We left Bichisi at break of day for Comani. When we had proceeded about half a league, we heard a voice which seemed to be at a great distance. We, for a long time, endeavoured to ascertain whence it proceeded, and at last discovered some shepherds on a distant rock, who, surprised at that hour to see a number of men marching towards them, wished to know who we were. Our escort stopped, and we preserved profound silence, that we might be able to hear what was addressed to us. The correspondence continued between our escort and the shepherds for five or six minutes, after which we advanced. The Montenegrines are much in the habit of calling to each other when at a considerable distance. They place one of their hands on each side of the mouth, as if to form a speaking trumpet; they then spread them out, and throw them forward at each syllable in order to propel the sound. Their

mode of articulation, by interrupted syllables, affords the necessary time for transmitting the sound from one place to another. They have, besides, such clear voices, and such strong lungs, that they are capable of maintaining a long conversation at the distance of half a league. It has been said of the islanders of the Archipelago, that they can discourse with each other at the distance of a league; but I am convinced this statement is greatly exaggerated.

We conversed on this subject the greater part of the morning, until we were at length interrupted by the prospect of the valley of Saint Basil, which suddenly appeared before us, as if by enchantment, through an opening in an enormous chain of rocks which hang suspended in the air, as if ready to fall and crush the passengers beneath.

CHAPTER X.

Journey to the celebrated Convent of Saint Basil.—Curious Dances.—Extraordinary Strength of the Dancers.—Public Games, &c.

DELIGHTED with the beauties of this charming spot, I resolved to stop for a short time, especially as our resting-place for the night was not far distant. Whilst wandering about, I discovered a beautiful plant, which grows spontaneously in this part of the country. It is known by the Italian name of *legno-santo*, (holy-wood); for the natives have not yet given it a name in their own language. It is cultivated in the botanical garden at Paris, under the name of *lilas superbus*, though it bears no resemblance to the lilac. In the lower parts of the country it grows as high as a forest-tree, and the branches spread out like those of the ash; the leaves also resemble ash-leaves, but are brighter in colour, and more deeply indented. The flowers, which grow in bunches, have a most agreeable perfume. The fruit is pulpy, and about the size of a sloe, or wild plum. The stones, which are extremely hard, take a fine polish; and the Turks of Albania make a sort of chaplet of them. These chaplets have been supposed to be objects of religious devotion with the Turks; they are, however, mere play-things. The Turks will twist them, for hours together, between their fingers, at the same time preserving a profound silence.

We arrived early at Comani; it was a holiday, and the whole population of the neighbourhood was assembled there. As we approached, the crowd advanced to meet us, and the armed inhabitants formed themselves into two lines, leaving a free passage to enable us to meet the *knes*, who came out of his house followed by five attendants, and received us with

marks of the greatest satisfaction. Before I could enter the house, I was compelled to endure the embraces of about fifty to sixty people, whose breath smelled so strong of garlick and tobacco that it made me ill. I was obliged to return after drinking two glasses of water. About an hour after, being a little recovered, the knes pressed me to go and see the dances, with which, he said, I should be much gratified. When I arrived on the plain, the dancers suspended their amusement, in order to pay their respects to me. I made the best return I could, and requested them to resume their dance. The dresses of both men and women appeared to be much better than any I had hitherto seen, as they united neatness and splendour. I observed their mode of dancing very attentively; it was extremely singular. There is, it is true, a great sameness in the figures; but it is not so with the steps. They move their limbs in a thousand different ways. Frequently, in leaping from the ground, they strike the calf of one leg with the toe of the other foot, and the knee with the heel, whilst they are in the air. Then, again, with one leg held up, they dart over the field, frequently crossing their partners, who observe the same motion. Their leaps are so burlesque and difficult, and their gestures are so extraordinary and so animated, that the buffoons of Italy might derive an useful lesson from them. But the most whimsical part of the spectacle is, to see them in certain figures with one arm before, and the other behind, the fists closed, the head held down a little, and with a menacing air run towards each other, as if about to fight, and on arriving close to each other, they pass without even coming in contact.

To my no small astonishment the daughter of the knes came to ask me to dance with her; amazed as I was at this mode of dancing, which I had never before seen, I remained for a moment uncertain how to act; to decline the invitation would have given offence, and to accede to it was merely exposing myself to ridicule; however, I boldly resolved to venture, and acquitted myself with much applause. On my way home, I offered my arm to the daughter of my host; she at first hesitated to accept it, and informed me that she never yet had taken the arm of a man, the practice not being usual until after marriage. In the evening my host invited a large party to meet me, and the time was passed in playing various social games, some of which resemble our own. Next day being market-day, we early repaired to the spot where the market was held, and beheld a scene of much animation. On one side, men were seated on the ground, smoaking, drinking coffee, and amusing themselves by repeating merry stories; others were sitting round a bottle

of wine and singing lustily. On another side a party of young women were seated round some performers on the monochord, listening with deep attention and profound silence. Numbers of people were playing at games of different kinds, and we joined in a game at quoits. The Montenegrines, like all nations not far advanced in civilization, are of opinion that all merit consists in courage, address, and particularly in agility, and those who wish to gain their esteem must prove themselves not destitute of these advantages. That we might be the better enabled to observe the Montenegrine character, we made it a rule to imitate them in every thing which our bodily strength admitted of. We conformed to all their customs, and, in particular, evinced the utmost respect for their religious principles and ceremonies. They observed the deference we paid to their institutions, and seemed gratified by it. We were tolerably successful in joining in most of their games and amusements; but there is an exercise in general use here, which we had never seen before, and in which we failed every time we attempted it. It consists in throwing forward great stones in a peculiar manner; they raise the lower arm until the hand is on a level with the shoulder, keeping the other part of the arm close to the body. Having placed a stone on the shoulder, weighing from thirty to forty pounds, by a sudden motion they cast the stone forward, to the distance of about twenty-five feet. Of course, this exercise required great strength and uncommon address.

We departed early from Comani, and arrived in the evening at Bezzi, after a very unpleasant journey, it having rained during the whole time; we retired to rest immediately. I had scarcely awoke next morning, when my host and his eldest son came to visit me, bringing with them some brandy distilled from pears, and a cake kneaded with honey. Soon after, I was supplied with pipes, tobacco, and coffee. My host entered into conversation with me, and appeared quite satisfied with the answers I gave him, and repeatedly shook me by the hand in the most affectionate manner. In the evening, he invited a party to meet me, and the next morning we departed to visit three hamlets, situated immediately at the foot of the upper mountains. These hamlets are not far distant from each other, and require no particular observation.

In many places they are ornamented with very rich vines; in one of the villages we were invited to form a party to catch cray-fish. This is done in various ways, sometimes by groping for them with the hand, in the cavities on the borders of streams, and sometimes by fastening pieces of reeds to a circle of iron tied by cords, in the form of a balance, suspended from a stick, and in which a piece of rusty bacon is placed. A third mode

of catching them is by a flat basket, in which are placed some fern-roots, covered with dung taken from the intestines of animals newly killed. Another way is by bundles of long herbs, with the intestines of animals tied up in them. These baits are placed in the water at those places most frequented by the cray-fish; the reeds are drawn out every half hour, the basket is left in for two or three hours, and the bundles of fern are permitted to remain for half a day. If the latter be the most tedious process, it is also the most profitable, for, when the bundles are drawn out the cray-fish are always clustered thickly upon them. We were very successful in our fishing, and we dressed and eat our provisions on the bank of the river. We did not leave Bezzi for two days, because I wished to put my notes in order, foreseeing that I should have much matter for observation during my stay at St. Basil.

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival at the Monastery of St. Basil.

WE now approached the abode of a saint, celebrated for a long series of miracles of all kinds, and enriched by the numerous offerings which the faithful bring from all parts, in gratitude for the divine benefits which are lavished on the country. The ministers of the temple are careful to maintain this religious enthusiasm among the people by the pomp and grandeur of the ceremonies, and by their mysterious mode of exhibiting the venerable remains of the saint, to the eyes of an ignorant and credulous multitude. St. Basil is situated in a district, of which Comani is the chief town. As we approached, the Archimandrite, or chief of the convent, who had been informed of our arrival, came out to meet us, accompanied by three monks. He received us very kindly, and conducted me to a chamber. The convent consists of a number of massive buildings, scattered over a vast extent of ground, and built without any regular plan; the church is of a moderate size and well built, in a simple style of architecture. The morning after our arrival we went, accompanied by the Archimandrite, to visit the hermitage of St. Basil, which is about a mile from the monastery. About the middle of a high rock, a large natural opening forms an entrance to the retreat, where the holy Patriarch St. Basil, by thirty years of mortification and meditation, expiated the aberrations of his youth, and the errors he had committed in this world. On our way to the holy grotto, we ascended a wooden staircase, with an arched roof, and then by some steps cut in

the rock we reached a chapel, richly but confusedly ornamented, where, in a coffin formed of the trunk of a cypress-tree, St. Basil reposes amidst all his miracles.

The means that have been resorted to for preserving the mortal remains of the saint have perfectly succeeded. I never in my life saw a mummy or an embalmed corpse in such a state of freshness. It is not the Christian Greeks of Montenegro alone, who bring their offerings to St. Basil; the Bosnians, the Servians, the Morlachians, and the Albanians, also repair to his shrine. Many Catholics visit it, and the Turks themselves entertain a sort of veneration for the saint, though many affect to ridicule him. The Archimandrite gave me a book entitled an account of the life and miracles of the saint, printed in the Illyrian character. A specimen of the absurdities it contains will afford a tolerable idea of the credulity of the people. One day the saint was leaning on the parapet of his terrace on the rock eating a pear, the pips of which he carelessly threw away. Next morning it was discovered that a large pear-tree had sprung from the barren rock; it was covered on one side with flowers, and on the other with a vast quantity of the finest fruit, perfectly ripe. This was in the month of February; on another occasion St. Basil had occasion for some parsley to perform some cure; for it must be observed he was also a skilful physician. He could not find this plant he wanted, and he naturally betook himself to prayer; and, in a short time, a bird, with a purple and azure plumage, appeared in the cell of the holy anchorite, bearing some parsley-seed in its beak. St. Basil sowed it on the rock, and next morning the parsley was ready for use; since that period parsley has spontaneously grown every year, in a corner of the rock, which is inaccessible both to sun and rain.

On another occasion, an incredulous Turk visited the hermitage, to obtain a sight of the remains of the saint. When the object of divine favour was exhibited, the Turk approached, and pretending devoutly to kiss the hand of the corpse, bit the fore-finger, probably to satisfy himself that the body had once been animated; when, wonderful to relate, the saint, as sensible of the bite as of the religious outrage, suddenly withdrew his hand from the unholy gripe, and, applying it forcibly to the head of the infidel, laid him dead on the ground. The monk who shews the body takes especial care to point out the mark of the bite, and woe to him who would seem to doubt it.

CHAPTER XII.

Turks' Heads fixed up in the Neighbourhood of the Convent of St. Basil.—Monks' Refectory.

WE staid several days at the monastery. I walked about to the distance of two or three leagues in every direction; but what a horrible spectacle I every where beheld! Numbers of 'Turks' heads fixed upon staves standing perpendicularly upon the hills, bear witness of the blind frenzy of man, and his total forgetfulness of Divine mercy. These are the heads of Turks made prisoners by the Montenegrines. From their vast numbers it is easy to perceive that these cruel executions are by no means unfrequent.

The monks rendered my visit to their convent extremely agreeable. The conversation of some of the brothers who had travelled was highly entertaining. The monastery is daily visited by many strangers. The wine is exquisite, and the cheer good and abundant, which of course enables the monks the better to endure the dullness of retirement. The archimandrite proposed that my meals should be sent to my quarters; but I expressed a desire to be admitted to his community. This seemed to please him, and he accordingly introduced me to his refectory. Though the Greek priests of this country are, generally speaking, extremely ignorant, yet those who have travelled in Christian countries are very well-informed men.

Our conversation was at first of a general nature; but I soon became the sole object of attention, and I was unable to reply to all the questions which were addressed to me. I excused myself, by observing, that I was not sufficiently familiar with the Illyrian language. A Servian monk addressed me in Italian. He began to discourse on our creeds, our religious customs, and even on the conduct of the Catholic priests. The monks seemed conscientiously to believe that they had attained evangelical perfection; and in proof of this they adduced the simplicity of their temples, their clothes, their tables, &c. One day, in the course of an animated conversation, the monk, drawing a parallel between himself and our bishops, said:—"I have seen in France, in Ireland, and in Spain, customs which none of us would imitate. Our bishops are not, in contempt of the gospel, surrounded by a retinue of servants like your ecclesiastical princes. The peasantry are not oppressed by contributions unauthorized either by law or religion, and above all, our priests do not flatter kings for the sake of worldly advantage." On another occasion, one of the

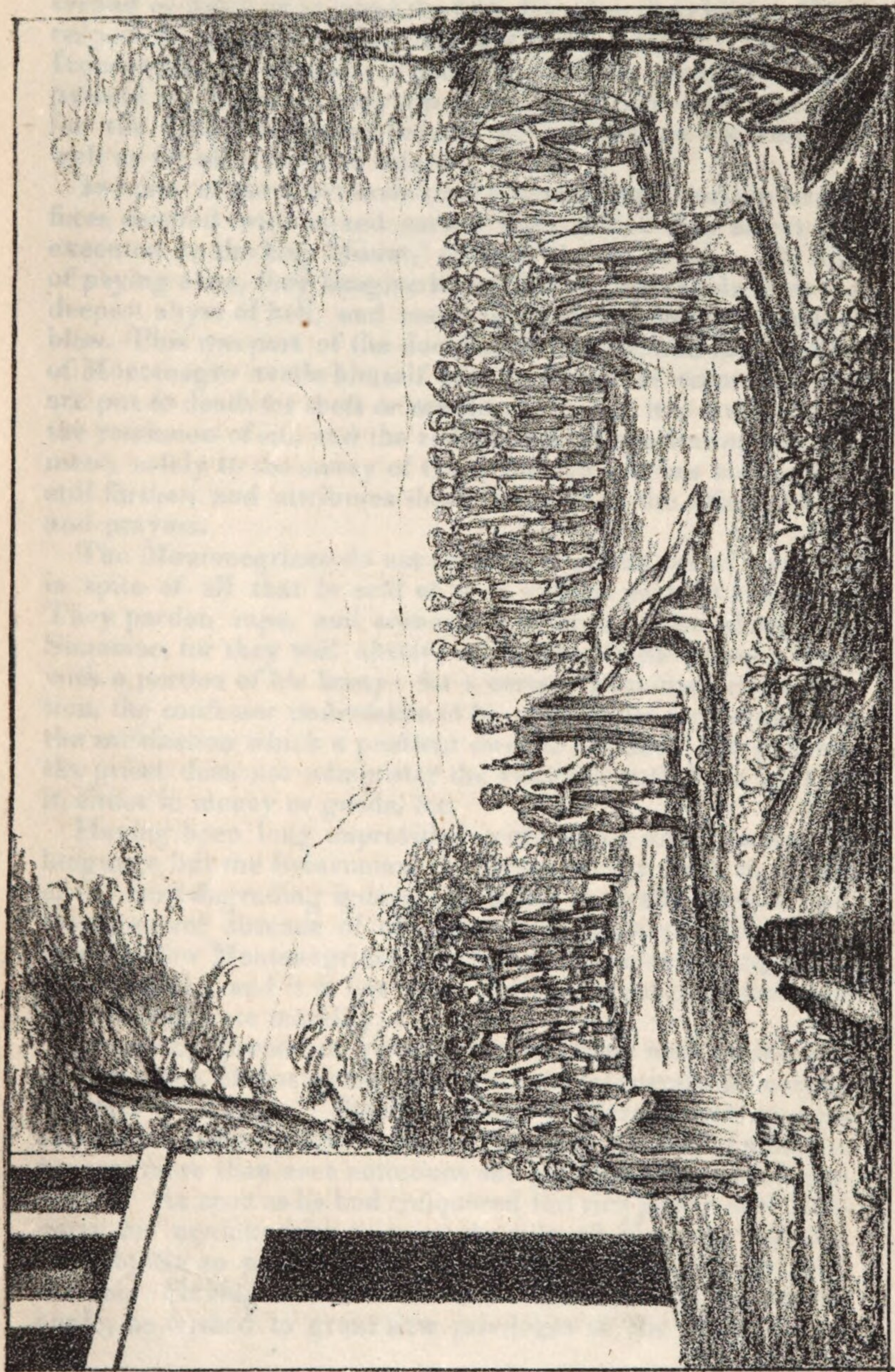
heads of the monastery, who had lived two years in Paris, after some observations on several of our customs, said:—
 “ You see yourself that our holy services are not degraded by wretched accessories, which add nothing to respect or inward conviction. Public piety is only diverted in your churches by the presence of officers, beadles, &c. armed with staves. Why should arms be introduced in a Christian nation, and in the temple of the Lord, who recommends lowliness and humanity? Is it to attack or to defend? Why these puerile precautions? Is it to honour the temple of the Almighty? Wretched vanity, which has banished the simplicity of the primitive church! What do you hope to derive from this sacrilegious pomp?—Respect? No; the respect of holiness is not to be gained at such a price.” I was much struck with the tone in which this monk expressed himself. His observations made a deep impression on me. I had many similar conversations, which interested me, and seemed to please the monks; and by degrees I acquired extensive information respecting the religion which is professed in the heart of Montenegro.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the Religion of the Montenegrines.—Their Priests and religious Observances.

THE Christian religion, as it is professed in Montenegro, is the schismatic Greek, or rather the Servian Greek ritual, which differs materially from that of the Greek church, properly so called, whence, however, it is derived. The following particulars will afford a correct idea of the religious doctrines of the Montenegrines, with the exception of a few local differences.

The Montenegrines acknowledge the same sacraments, but not the same doctrines as the Catholics; their clergy are Donatists, for they deny the validity of the baptism of the Catholic church. For this reason they re-baptize proselytes, and put to them the three following interrogatories:—1. Do you renounce the pope?—2. Do you renounce the Catholic crucifix?—3. Do you renounce fasting on Saturdays?—Though an open enemy to the heresy of the Socinians, who refuse to acknowledge the mysteries of Christianity; and deny the divinity of Christ, the Montenegrine priest, nevertheless, holds the Catholic ceremonies in abhorrence. He will not consecrate on Catholic altars till they are previously washed with holy water;



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but, in general, they are destroyed and others erected in their stead. The Montenegrines baptize young children on the second or third, or at latest the fifth day after their birth. With respect to proselytes, they are not quite so rigid. They are Iconoclasts, or enemies to images, yet they worship figures painted on boards; they affect the most supreme contempt for the Catholic figures painted on canvass, or on walls, as well as for all statues of saints.

In spite of these heterodoxical opinions, they worship crucifixes covered with sacred carved work, which they assert was executed on the holy Mount, without the aid of art. By dint of paying alms, they imagine it possible to draw souls from the deepest abyss of hell, and make them ascend to the region of bliss. This was part of the doctrine of Origen, and the Vladika of Montenegro avails himself of it in favour of criminals who are put to death for theft or murder. Origen, it is true, assigns the remission of sin, and the redemption of everlasting punishment, solely to the mercy of God; but the Servian bishop goes still farther, and attributes these miracles to the effect of alms and prayers.

The Montenegrines do not acknowledge the sin of thought, in spite of all that is said of it in various parts of Scripture. They pardon rape, and consecrate divorce. The clergy are Simoniac, for they will absolve a robber, if he present them with a portion of his booty: for a certain pecuniary consideration, the confessor undertakes to be responsible for the sin and the satisfaction which a penitent owes to his God. In general, the priest does not administer the viaticum until he is paid for it, either in money or goods, &c.

Having been long unprovided with books, and knowing no language but the Slavonian, the Greek clergy lived in a state of the most degrading ignorance: hence naturally arose the almost general absence of education among the people. Even now but few Montenegrines can repeat the common prayers of their church; and it is but rarely that the priest propounds the doctrines of pure morality.

It may be proper to give the reader some idea of the rise and progress of that church which has so frequently influenced the fate of Europe. Stephen, King of Servia, having succeeded his father in 1333, on the throne of Eastern Dalmatia, became more than ever ambitious and jealous of the Greek emperors. As soon as he had conquered the rich province of Bulgaria, his anxious wish to enjoy the title of Emperor induced his subjects to proclaim him *Imperator Romanorum et Serviarum*. Having modelled his court after that of Constantinople, he wished to grant new privileges to the clergy; and

to deprive the Greeks of all influence, he changed the title of the Metropolitan archbishop to that of patriarch, and declared him the independent and absolute sovereign of the churches of his empire. This separation, together with a language and books different from those used by the Greeks and Catholics, the ignorance of the clergy and the people, and the heresies of boghmili (bigots), are the causes which mainly contributed to stamp the Servian Greek church with the character of a particular sect. Amidst the vast diversity of opinions, erroneous interpretations, and incoherence of principle, which pervade all sects, it must nevertheless be acknowledged, that the Greek clergy present a fair side, worthy to claim the attention of the most rigid observer.

Confining myself merely to the most prominent points of the faith of the Montenegrines, I may say that their positive doctrine is the conviction of the existence of a Creator, the common Father of all mankind; and they acknowledge that the world is the work of his all-powerful hand. In Montenegro, as in all other countries, where the worship of the Supreme Being is divided into two different rituals, nothing is more remarkable than the extreme aversion and repugnance which prevail among the respective sectaries, and particularly among the ministers of the two doctrines. Availing ourselves of the influence our functions afforded us, we endeavoured to conciliate the different sects, and our efforts were almost always attended with success. We however observed, in general, more stiffness and pride among the Catholics than among the Greeks; perhaps because the latter were the powerful party, and generosity is one of the attributes of power; or perhaps because they are the most ignorant, and virtue is nearly allied to the simplicity of the primitive evangelic ages. Be this as it may, controversy, in every sense of the word, is mild and tolerant among the fathers of the Greek church, and no individual is exposed to persecution for not professing their doctrines.

It has often been remarked, that among the various classes of the inferior clergy, especially country-clergy, are those who approach nearest to the true evangelic character. In Montenegro, as elsewhere, I have invariably found that the curates, generally speaking, were real imitators of Christ, faithful depositaries of his doctrine, and worthy organs of primary instruction. They are a truly useful order of the clergy, and perhaps the only priests worth preserving. If we consider the duties they fulfil, the laborious functions they exercise, their resignation, their disinterestedness, their retired habits, and their self-respect, it must be acknowledged that they are the most venerable class of the ministers of the gospel. Such is the esteem in which they are

held by the people, that a Greek never meets a priest of this class without lifting his cap; he places one of his hands on his breast, and with the other taking the priest's hand, kisses it respectfully. When a curate enters a house, all the inhabitants, whatever be their rank, treat him with similar marks of respect. Oftener than once I have availed myself of their ascendancy over the people, to maintain obedience in the provinces with which I was intrusted.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the Churches and Customs relating to Religion.

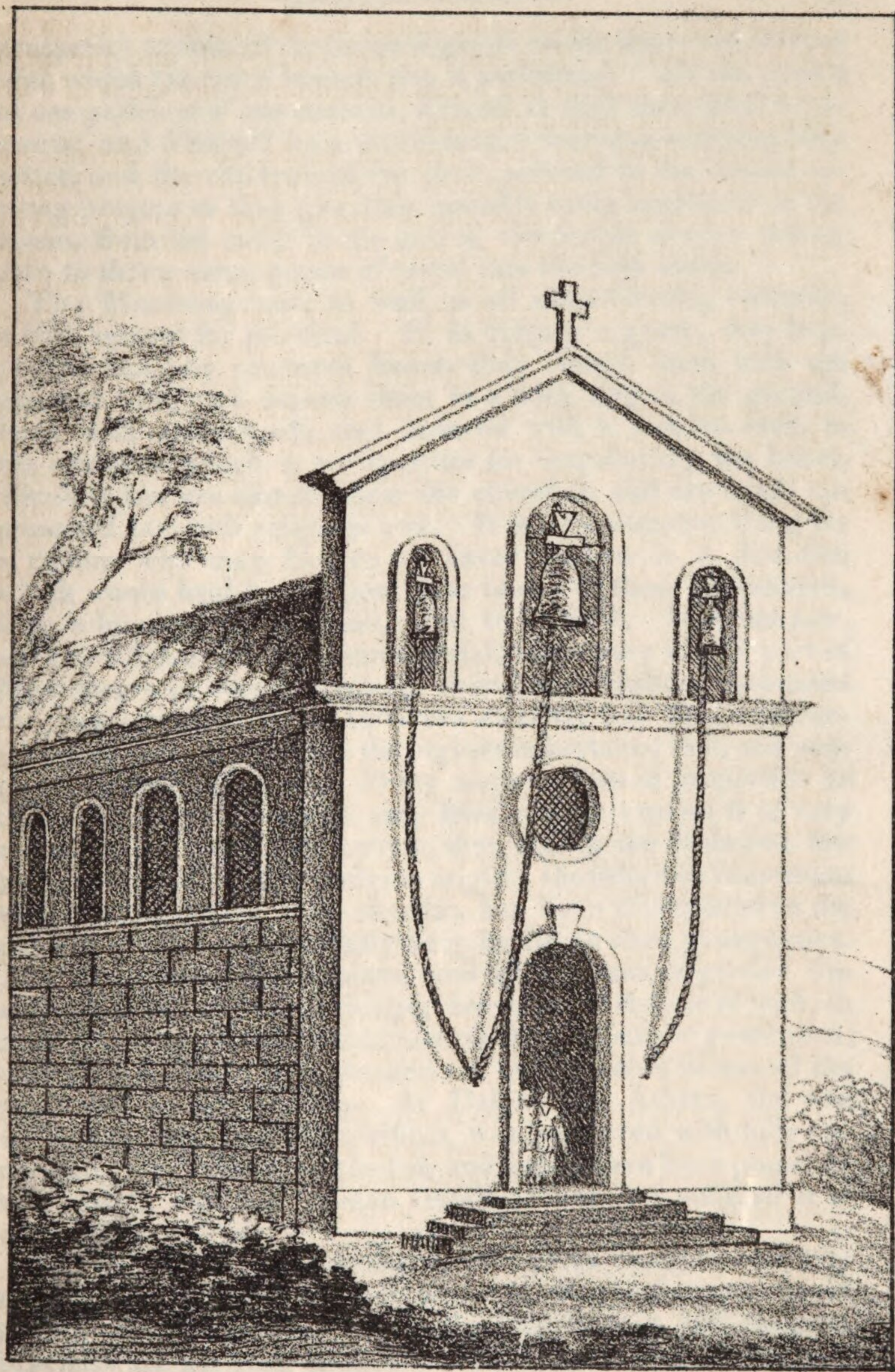
LIKE the Roman Catholic churches, the Montenegrine temples are built so that the nave is to the west, and the choir to the east. Their architecture is extremely simple. Over the portico are three arched openings, in which are hung three bells of different sizes, which are rung from the outside. In the inside of the churches the walls are smooth, and kept carefully clean; they are not decorated by pictures. There are neither benches nor chairs, except for the curates and acolytes, and they but seldom sit down. The choir is composed of parishioners, who receive no payment for their trouble. The altar consists merely of a large cubical stone, measuring about three feet; but it is not seen, or at least not easily, for the chancel is screened from the eyes of the believers. It is concealed by a wretchedly painted wooden partition, which rises to the ceiling. This partition has generally three openings, of which the centre one is larger than the two side ones; it is closed by two folding-doors, while the others are only closed by curtains. In a glass-case, which rests on two pillars, are deposited the presents sent to the church, or to the Virgin: among them are several splendid tokens of the munificence of the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the Venetian republic.

The ablutions and consecrations are performed with the greatest ceremony: all the acolytes quit the chancel, and the doors and curtains are carefully closed. It is impossible to forbear participating in the pious sentiment which pervades the congregation during the sacrifice. At the first elevation one curtain is drawn aside, and the officiating priest appears holding the chalice above his head; and at the second elevation the folding-doors suddenly open. It is impossible to conceive the imposing effect produced by the holocaust and the whole congregation prostrating themselves before the Su-

preme Majesty. The communion is not the same as in the Catholic church. The wafer is not employed, and the priest makes use of unleavened bread, baked under the ashes of a fire, kindled by the rays of the sun.

Festival-days are very frequent in the Greek church, and particularly those consecrated to the Virgin Mary, whom all the followers of the Greek ritual hold in great veneration. Thus the principal apartment in every house is adorned with a figure of the Madonna painted on a board, and on Sundays and festival-days it is illuminated by a silver lamp. An oath taken before this figure is rarely broken. Young women usually swear by the Virgin to be faithful to their lovers, and express a hope that they may be sacrificed if they break their vow. The extraordinary number of festival-days, together with the sacra, or festival peculiar to each family, and those of the patron saints, occupy a whole quarter of the year, and will, in the end, prove essentially injurious to public morals, owing to the bad use which is made of the rest of the day, after the fulfilment of holy duties. What singularly surprised me during festival-days was a continued firing of musketry and ringing of bells; during divine service, however, the firing takes place at a proper distance from the temple.

Young girls never go to church but twice a year, namely, at Easter and Christmas. The women are separated from the men in a railed gallery above the principal door, in that part where the organ is usually fixed up in our churches. Men, women, and children, stand from beginning to end of the ceremony; the most rigid decorum prevails, and the congregation seem almost immoveable. This is one of their religious precepts; the Greeks are extremely scrupulous on this point, and two persons are seldom seen talking together at church. Whenever I observed conversation I invariably found that it was between two Frenchmen; or some foreigner interrogating a Greek, who was sure to reply in such a way as not to encourage any further discourse. The Greek churches contain neither organs nor ornaments of any kind that may tend to divert the minds of the pious. In certain ceremonies great use is made of the holy water, though there is not any particular vase appropriated for containing it, as in the Catholic churches. But how shall I describe the Greek mode of singing hymns? It is a mere humming, and of the most discordant kind imaginable. A very solemn ceremony of the Greek church is the blessing of houses twice during the year; once at the beginning of spring and once in winter; which corresponds with the festivals of Easter and Christmas. These are most important ceremonies among the Montenegrines, as it is supposed that the



Front of the Church.

prosperity or ruin of the house depends on the degree of fervour with which the act of benediction is performed. All the priests of one parish or of one convent, dressed in their sacerdotal ornaments, and followed by a thuriferary, a sacristan carrying holy water, and the children of the choir, proceed to the houses reciting prayers as they go; they sprinkle every apartment in the house, from the cellar to the garret, the people always taking care to throw some pieces of metal into the holy water.

The Montenegrines, as well as all other Greeks, entertain a high respect for the dead. If, in digging a grave, they happen to find any scattered bones, they collect them with the greatest care, and deposit them in a hole, dug in the ground, lined with stone-work, and covered with a wooden arch, in the centre of which is an aperture for introducing the bones. These tombs are situated near the churches, and are never approached but with religious awe. It is no uncommon thing for a person who may happen to have business in a direction which would lead him to pass close to one of these monuments, to go a hundred yards round about to avoid it. It is not now, nor has it been for time immemorial, customary in any part of Montenegro to bury the dead in churches. Light is accounted the greatest ornament in the Greek church; but the Montenegrines, in particular, attach the highest importance to it, and imagine that they honour the Deity more or less in proportion to the number of wax-tapers they burn. This custom is of very remote origin; it is well known, that, among the Hebrews, fire was accounted to have a divine origin; the religious veneration they entertained for that element, has been transmitted to the modern Jews, who carefully keep lights in their synagogues. The Egyptians, Babylonians, and Phœnicians, regarded fire and water as the first of things; hence arose the use of both, in nuptial and baptismal ceremonies, as the emblems of generation; whilst, at funerals, they marked the imperishable nature of the soul and its immortality. At Delphi and Athens, the fire which had been used at sacrifices, was preserved with holy veneration; the priests watched it, and would have been punished with death, like the Roman vestals, if they had suffered it to extinguish.

It is strange that money should always be mingled with holy things; and that, in all religions, sordid speculations should tarnish pious intentions. In civilized cities such anti-christian practises are not very extraordinary; but how could abuses of this kind take root among the inaccessible mountains of Montenegro? The inhabitants are so constantly tormented by mendicant monks, that no sooner has one been dismissed from the threshold than another appears.

Curates are permitted to marry; a portion of land is assigned to them, and they cultivate it with the aid of their family; they are perfect patterns of conjugal fidelity; they are suffered to eat all kinds of food indiscriminately, but are subjected to frequent fasts. The privilege of marrying, however, does not extend to monks. The most rigid abstemiousness is imposed on the latter. They eat no kind of animal food; though some, on consideration of ill-health, obtain limited dispensations. The Montenegrines have several Lents in the course of the year; and two very long ones are scrupulously observed. They do not merely consist in abstaining from animal food, but also from various other articles of subsistence; these fasts are common to both sexes. The Greek religion forbids the use of frogs as being unclean animals, and a thousand absurd anecdotes are related of them. The Montenegrines, in particular, regard them with the greatest horror, and treat with contempt all who eat them, whatever religion they may profess. The necessity of personal defence against the attacks of the Turks, obliges the priests in those parts of Montenegro which border on Turkey, to go constantly armed like the rest of the people. Hence it has been alleged, that this is the general practice of the Montenegrine priests; an error which probably arose out of the atrocious circumstance of a minister having, during divine worship, shot one of his parishioners with a musket. It is certainly true that such a crime was committed; but, instead of resembling this ferocious murderer, the Montenegrine priests regard him as a monster—an object driven to insanity by the habit of intoxication. Another instance of turpitude may be cited. A priest named Lazo, losing sight of the venerable functions with which he was invested, for a long period excited discord and dissension among the people entrusted to his care. But, from the crimes of a few, it is unfair to draw inferences injurious to all.

CHAPTER XV.

Marriage among the Montenegrines.—Mutual Presents.—Ceremonies.—Feasts.

IN all nations of the known world, characteristic ceremonies are attached to the three grand epochs of the life of man, namely:—birth, marriage, and death. The ceremonies observed in Montenegro, on these occasions, are nearly similar to those of the Servian Greeks, and those practised in Dalmatia, and on the gulf of Cattaro.

When a girl is sought in marriage by a young man residing in a distant village, old people generally negotiate between them; and it not unfrequently happens that the parties concerned never see each other until the affair is nearly concluded. The father of the young man, or one of his nearest relations, accompanied by two other persons, proceeds to the family with whom he wishes to form a connection. All the daughters are presented to him, and he himself chooses one, without caring whether or not she may please her intended bridegroom. It is, however, very seldom that a refusal takes place; so little attention is paid to situation, rank, or fortune, in these matters, that it not unfrequently happens, that a rich Montenegrine gives his daughter in marriage to a farmer, or even to a servant. The person who comes to demand the girl in marriage, after obtaining the parent's consent, conducts the bridegroom to see her: as soon as they evince a mutual wish to be united, the marriage is looked upon as concluded. It is not necessary to draw up any contract; a simple promise suffices, particularly, as a woman never brings any fortune to her husband except her stock of clothes, &c. The priest goes to the house of the bride as soon as her parents have consented to the union. He shuts himself up with her in the most retired apartment in the house, where he receives her general confession, and grants her remission for all her sins, for the payment of ten paras, (about a penny), which the parents give him, on his assurance that she is fit for absolution. On the following day, the marriage is published in the church, with nearly the same formalities as those observed by the catholics.

During the publication of the marriage, the relations of the bride convey to the family of the bridegroom presents of corn, a pot of milk, and a cake of maize, on which are stamped the figures of a distaff, knitting-needles, and other emblems of female industry. This is a custom derived from the ancient Greeks, among whom it was usual for the bridegroom's relations to send to the bride the keys of her husband's house, accompanied by the distaff and spindle. With the Montenegrines, the ears of corn denote the abundance, which, by dint of economy, the wife will maintain in her husband's house; the milk expresses her mildness of temper; and the cake marks the industry which will render her worthy to superintend his family. On the other hand, the young man's relations convey to the bride's family a cake made of pure wheat and raisins, and if the season permit, a few pots of the best wine, together with some agricultural instruments, which are handed down from father to son, to denote that the young man will prove industrious, and will honour the memory of his forefathers, by using

the instruments which procured them the means of living comfortably and happy.

On the first Christmas-day after the betrothing, both bride and bridegroom invite all their relations and friends, who assemble at the house of the bride's parents, whence the bride, followed by a numerous retinue, proceeds to her husband's house, where great rejoicing takes place. Her mother follows her, carrying over her head a large veil or white handkerchief. After receiving the blessing of her parents, the bride, thus veiled, takes her place between her father-in-law and the next nearest relative of her husband, and proceeds to church followed by the bridegroom and all the retinue already mentioned. At the door of the church they are met by the priest, who sprinkles them with holy-water, and asks them a series of whimsical questions. After several long prayers, he gives them the nuptial benediction, which is followed by a very tedious ceremony, accompanied by so many signs of the cross that it is impossible to enumerate them. I have myself counted as many as twenty-two signs, made in the short space of two minutes. The train of friends and relatives, joined by the priest, then conduct the bride from church, amidst the firing of musketry and the acclamations of the people who happen to meet them by the way. She first proceeds to her father's and then to her husband's house, where an abundant repast is provided. She eats separately, at a small table with two of her relations, and the whole afternoon is devoted to dances and songs in honour of the wedding. At these festivals the priest acts as master of the ceremonies; he proclaims the toasts that are to be drank in honour of the bride and bridegroom, repeats the nuptial songs, &c. The company soon become animated, and a great noise usually ensues; but the whole passes off with the utmost order.

During these nuptial festivals, which last for several days, the bride and bridegroom, accompanied by their friends, parade regularly through the streets and roads leading to the hamlets near the village in which they reside. This custom does not arise out of ostentation, but is merely an act of publicity, necessary to ensure the legality of the contract.

Among the Montenegrines it would be reckoned a shameful freedom for a woman to call her husband by his name in public during the first year of their marriage. A wife will even scruple to do so when they are alone. The same reserve is observed by husbands towards their wives. It sometimes happens that the father, or the girl herself, refuses the person who is proposed as her husband. In that case, the young man, accompanied by some of his friends, proceeds to the

woman's house, and by force carry her to the priest, who marries them for a trifling sum of money, in spite of every protestation. If the betrothing takes place, and the nuptial ring is given as a preliminary present, which is the common practice; and if, from any reason, the marriage is not solemnized, the parties cannot enter into any other engagement until the ring be restored. If a second person should ask the bride in marriage, she must return the ring to her first suitor; but in case of his refusal to accept it, she has no alternative but to continue single. If, on the other hand, a man who has been betrothed wishes to marry another woman, he must demand his ring, and if it be refused, his marriage is suspended: no priest will perform the ceremony, unless the ring be produced and its identity proved. It frequently happens that the refusal of the ring, by either party, is merely the effect of spite. Hence arise scenes of dissension, in which the whole family take part, and which often terminate in bloodshed.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of Adoption.—Of Intimate Connections, or the Fraternity of Arms.—Of Divorce.—Of Death.—Funerals.

ACCORDING to Goar, adoption among the Greeks was a religious ceremony accompanied by prayers. The child fell on his knees before his adopted father, who pronounced the following words: "You are my child; I this day adopt you." The same author adds, that the Greek church has very properly admitted this rite, as adoption was authorised by the Imperial laws. In Montenegro, however, no religious ceremony accompanies the act. The Montenegrine, actuated by pure benevolence, adopts a child because it is an unprotected orphan, or because its parents have not the means of bringing it up properly. If there happen to be several children of one family, they are separated. It is sufficient to communicate the circumstance to the Knes or the Curate. This simple ceremony being observed, every one is eager to possess one of the children.

The adopting father, accompanied by several persons, conducts the child home. On reaching the threshold of the door, he says: "I adopt you, for my heart tells me you are my child. This house is yours, for all that is mine is yours; may nothing separate us till death." He places his hand on the child's head as a token of protection, and kisses his forehead. The child bows profoundly, kisses the hand of his adopting

father; and placing his own hand on his heart, makes a motion expressive of gratitude and affection. The adopting father distributes to every one present, as well as to the child, a coin, with a device similar to one which he keeps for himself. These coins, at the death of the persons, are deposited in the hands of the father; and, when he dies, they are buried with him in his coffin.

If there are no immense fortunes in Montenegro, there are likewise no beggars. Mendicity, that scourge of refined society, is not known here. Nobody is seen begging except monks, who lead that mode of life in fulfilment of their vows.

If the enmity of the Montenegrines be cruel and protracted, their friendship is certainly inviolable; they are sincere and constant in their affections, and they frequently contract intimate connections, as they are termed. These connections are entered into with great ceremony. Two friends appear at church, attended only by their respective confidants; they lay their muskets across at the threshold of the principal door, and make an invocation, calling heaven to witness the sincerity of their intentions. A priest pronounces a blessing on their fire-arms, upon which they immediately raise them and hold them across. They then take each other by the right hand, place the left on their hearts, and give the kiss of friendship. They take a solemn oath to live and die for each other, and mutually exchange arms; on the death of either, the arms belong to the survivor. The ceremony is concluded by a grand feast.

These friendships, which Goar, in his euchology of the Greeks, calls unions, are not contracted as he describes in Montenegro. He observes that the friends are blessed in church in presence of the assembled congregation; here only the arms are blessed; the number of friends is not limited; two, three, or more, may enter into the same engagement. It rarely happens that such a friendship is violated; it is proof against every trial. An offence committed against one of the friends is common to all. They literally live for each other's sakes.

In Montenegro a woman is not allowed to seek a divorce. The husband presents a sum of money to the priest, who assembles together the relations of both husband and wife, and after delivering a long account of the complaints which the man prefers, judges himself, without the concurrence of any other tribunal, of the necessity and justice of the divorce. All the ceremony observed in the dissolution of a marriage, consists in presenting a flask of wine to the wife's relations, who all drink by turns; it is then presented to the husband, who refuses to raise it to his lips, which is considered as a proof that he persists in his intention of separating from his

wife. The priest drinks the rest of the wine, and taking up the woman's apron, he gives one end to her father or her nearest relative, and the other to the husband's father; he cuts it in two with a sort of knife, kept for the purpose, and pronounces with a loud voice the words, "Heaven has separated you."

The idea of death does not produce the same awful sensations on the Montenegrines as on the people of other countries. They are wholly absorbed in sorrow at the thought of eternal separation from their relations and friends. Thus, nothing appears more incompatible than this strong attachment, and the implacable resentment which sometimes urges them to destroy their fellow-creatures.

When a Montenegrine dies, nothing is heard through the house but moaning and lamentation. The women, in particular, tear their hair and strike their bosoms in the most furious way imaginable. The corpse is kept in the house for twenty-four hours; the face is uncovered, and it is perfumed with essences, and strewed with flowers and aromatic shrubs, after the manner of the ancients. It must not be supposed that this is merely an empty show of sorrow; no, the grief of the Montenegrines is vented in convulsive sobs, and heart-rending cries. When the priest arrives, the lamentations of the family are redoubled; and when the corpse is about to be removed from the house, the relations whisper in its ear, giving it commissions to their departed friends in the other world. After these singular addresses, the corpse, being lightly covered with a napkin, with the face exposed, is carried to church. On the way, women who are hired for the purpose sing songs, narrating the history of the deceased's life. Before the corpse is laid in the earth, the nearest relations tie a piece of cake round the neck, and put in its hand a piece of money: this is merely a continuation of the custom of the ancient Greeks. During this ceremony, as well as on their way to church, the weeping mourners thus apostrophize the deceased. "Why did you leave your poor wife, who loved you so tenderly! and your children, who were so obedient! your flocks thrived well, and Heaven blessed all your undertakings."

As soon as the funeral is concluded, the curate and all the train of mourners return home, where a grand feast is prepared. Bacchanalian songs are sung, and prayers offered up in favour of the deceased. One of the guests makes an oration, which usually draws tears from the whole assembly. He is accompanied by three or four discordant monochords. The men of Montenegro allow their beards to grow as a mark of mourning: the women cover their heads with a blue or black

handkerchief, for the first year after the death of a relative. The women invariably repair, on every festival-day, to weep on the tomb of their husband or children, and to strew it with fresh-gathered flowers. If, by chance, they should omit doing so, they ask pardon of the deceased, and explain the reasons which prevented them from fulfilling this pious duty.

CHAPTER XVII.

Superstition.—Popular Prejudices.—Of the Upper Mountains, or Montenegrine Zenta.

It is painful to trace the lamentable consequences of the ignorance and pusillanimity of half-civilized man, particularly when, as in Montenegro, he is under the influence of priests and monks, interested in holding him in that state of moral imbecility which suits their own purposes. No-where is the belief in ghosts, magicians, and evil-spirits, so inveterate as in Montenegro. The imaginations of the people are incessantly haunted with phantoms, dreams, and forebodings; but nothing can equal the terror with which they are inspired by the *brucolaques*, or bodies of excommunicated persons, which are cast away without burial. The ground where they lie is fatal ever after; no Montenegrine will venture to approach it; and if the spot should recur to their recollection, they fancy they are pursued by ghosts. Others imagine they see the shades of their forefathers hovering in the clouds above their heads; they speak to them in the silence of night, give them commissions to other deceased relatives, and think they are thus in open communication with the other world.

When a Montenegrine dies from any unknown cause, whether he is supposed to have died a natural death, or to have fallen a victim to the vengeance of an enemy, his relations have him proclaimed in every part of the village where they reside, by three youths whose business it is to discharge this office. It is only within a short period that the Montenegrines and the Greeks, in general, have been in the habit of allowing the dead to remain unburied for forty-eight hours. Ten years ago, they were accustomed to bury eight or ten hours after death. This practice proved the occasion of many humorous resurrections. The following circumstance took place in 1813.

A man named Zanetto, returning home one evening in a state of intoxication, threw himself on his bed, and was soon seized with horrible convulsions. He continued for some time perfectly motionless, and destitute of heat and respiration, and

was naturally supposed to be dead. In carrying him to church, it was necessary to proceed by a very uneven road, intersected with rocks and stones. The frequent jolting, occasioned by the irregular motion of the corpse-bearers, soon revived Zanetto, and starting up he poured forth a volley of abuse on the afflicted mourners. The bearers immediately threw down the coffin and ran off, and the mourners fled to the neighbouring village, where their strange story filled the people with terror. The priests were the only persons who remained with the coffin, and were ignorant of the real cause of the confusion, until Zanetto thus addressed them. "Living demons, you shall account for this: carry me back again instantly, or I'll throw you into the hole that has been dug for me." The priests accordingly conveyed him back in his coffin, with all due humility and patience.

During my visit to the convent of St. Basil, a numerous deputation of the inhabitants of the Upper Mountains brought me various presents, according to the custom of the country. These presents consisted of twelve sheep-skins of the finest wool, two lambs, and two beautiful white goats, twelve cheeses, a flask filled with hydromel, a gun, and a pair of pistols richly ornamented with gold and mother-o'-pearl. I had not foreseen this circumstance, and I had but few means of proving my gratitude. I could not offer them money without offending them, as they never receive it as a reward for voluntary attentions. I was totally destitute of any thing worth presenting to them. I possessed nothing but a watch, a compass, a large and small telescope, and a snuff-box inlaid with gold. The three first articles were so necessary, that I could not possibly think of parting with them. I presented my snuff-box and my pocket-telescope to the heads of the deputation; and a ring of trifling value, though exceedingly brilliant, to a priest who was among the number. I never was more fortunate in performing an act of courtesy in my life: I received for these paltry presents as many kisses on the hand as the most coquettish Italian countess could wish to receive from all her cavaglieri serventi.

We set out in the evening, in sufficient time to sleep at Comani. The people were expecting us, and the principal officers had ordered a stock of provisions for our use. On our arrival, orders were given for fishing in the river of Schinizza. In the evening I was called upon to decide a curious contest respecting a hen which had been carried off from a barn-yard. The farmer claimed it, and his neighbour refused to give it up; the mistake had apparently originated in the resemblance of two hens, for each disputant referred to certain marks to

prove that the bird belonged to him. A wager of six Turkish piastres was laid; and the farmer informed his neighbour that if the dispute were decided in his favor, he would give him the hen on condition of his eating it without cooking it; and, added he, I will do the same should it prove to be yours. The bargain was instantly agreed to. The hen was proved to be the property of the farmer, and the person who had detained it was condemned to pay the six piastres and to eat the hen without cooking. He, however, contrived to eat it cooked, by means of the following subterfuge, which would not have disgraced the sophists of ancient Greece: you told me, said he, that I was to eat it without cooking it. That of course did not imply that I was not to get it cooked by others. This subtlety succeeded.

Next morning we departed about ten o'clock, and soon arrived at Cliesopoli, which presents a striking contrast to the country we had already passed through. The soil is fertilized by the waters of the Moraka and the Zetta, and the inhabitants, though more uncivilized, are much more industrious than elsewhere. Cliesopoli is important for the number of its inhabitants, and for its trade with Podgorizza. I perceived in the gardens abundance of the gazia plant: it is the species of triacanthos. The sap which is obtained from it by means of incision, produces an excellent gum, equal to the best Arabic. The morning after our arrival we went to pay our respects to the priest, who received me very kindly: in the course of our conversation he related the following anecdote. An inhabitant of Cliesopoli was unable to pay a debt, for which his creditor was very importunate; one of his friends, out of pity for his misfortune, although he had no money, sold the only cow he possessed, and immediately discharged the debt of his friend. Many years passed away, during which the debtor grew rich, but never thought of requiting his generous friend, who had in his turn become poor. One day, as they were returning from mass, the latter conjured him, if he wished to save him from ruin, to repay the sum he had advanced. The debtor pretended that he had no money. Though this conversation was maintained in a low tone, it happened to be overheard; the affair became public, and every one loudly condemned the conduct of the ungrateful friend. He was forbidden to enter the church for a year, and no person would associate with him. The magistrate took no share whatever in this act of popular justice; it was the work of the citizens alone. At Cliesopoli commences that long chain of Upper Mountains which run parallel with the Schinizza as far as its source, and then, extending as far as Lastovi, separate Montenegro almost into

two equal parts. At Menussichi I lodged with a man named Paolo Iranolich, whose marked attentions towards me I could not account for until he informed me that he was one of those Montenegrines whose arms had been restored to them by my orders, at Castel-Nuovo. I may here mention a few particulars, which will confirm what I have before said of the gratitude of the Montenegrine people. The commandants on the frontiers had for some time considered it necessary, as a measure of safety, to compel the people to deposit their arms at the gates of the towns which they might enter. As a Montenegrine is never, even for a moment, without his arms, nothing could be more irksome to them than this practice, against which they loudly remonstrated. One day a party of Montenegrines presented themselves at the gate of Castel-Nuovo, which I commanded, and they were desired to leave their arms with the soldiers on guard. They said they would rather not enter the place than comply with the regulation. However, two of the party left their arms, and came to me to beg that I would allow them and their companions to enter armed. I consented, and told them that I would give orders that for the future they should always enter armed. It is impossible to describe the joy and gratitude these people expressed for the confidence I reposed in them. The report of what I had done was soon spread among the Montenegrines, and to this proceeding I think I was indebted for the kindness I experienced during my residence among them. We passed rapidly through many villages and other places, until we arrived at Piessioni, where we were received by the ringing of bells and a discharge of musketry. I was indebted for this honour to the priest Jovevich, whom I had received with marked distinction at Cattaro. During my stay here I was constantly engaged in arranging my notes. The following is the result of my observations:—

This important part of the Upper Mountains, which joins Montenegro, contains many villages, the principal of which are Cussi, Bielo, Pawluchi, Liesno, and Duboko. The two last are the chief villages of the colony of the Ukoskis, a race of people who emigrated from the territory of the Nichshiech, in Turkey, on account of the tyranny which was exercised against them for their religion. Lagaras is also an important commune on the Sussizza, at the entrance of a charming valley. The principal products of this country are grain of all kinds, and tobacco of a superior quality. Great numbers of cattle are also fed here. The principal river is the Zetta, which rises at the foot of the mountain of Piessiori, and joins the Moraka. In the vicinity of Podgorizza the river Zetta abounds in trouts

of the most delicate flavour; it is not unusual for trout caught here to weigh from fifty to sixty pounds. The Sussizza is a river of less magnitude, which has its source at the foot of the mountain of Gratz, and falls into the Moraka, between the communes of Budina and Spug. In Upper Maraccje there is a large convent, and a magnificent church built after the design of Our Lady of Loretto; this church is the finest building in the country. The political and judicial institutions of Montenegro have been adopted in the Upper Mountains since the union between the two countries, which took place about nineteen years ago. The inhabitants of the Upper Mountains are in a state of greater servility than the people of Montenegro; and are also more completely enslaved by the yoke of superstition. These wretched people would, on a fast-day, assassinate any one without scruple, while they would allow their throats to be cut rather than consent to eat food or to suspend for a single Saturday the homage of light to the image of the Virgin. They still place the most implicit faith in the effects of excommunication. The ceremonies most generally observed are those which precede and accompany the festivals of Easter, and of Christmas. The custom of placing a large block of wood in the fire on Christmas-eve is of very ancient origin with them as well as with us. They strip the bark from a piece of wood about six feet long; it is then ornamented with flowers and branches of laurel, and washed with perfumes. The women, dressed in their finest clothes, place it in the fire. Dancing and singing ensue; but these sports are frequently interrupted, in order to observe the appearance which the laurel-leaves assume when burnt, from which forebodings of good or bad fortune are derived.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Diseases—Physicians—Vaccination, &c.—Continuation of Remarks on the singular Customs of the Montenegrines, particularly in their Wars.

THE mortality which prevails among their cattle is one of the greatest calamities to which the Montenegrines are subjected. But, in no case, not even in the absolute loss of fortune, do they allow themselves to be reduced to despair. This must not be attributed to insensibility; it is because they are exempt from that factitious uneasiness and false shame which an unexpected reverse occasions in a more civilized state of society: thus suicide is a crime never committed among the Montenegrines. Suicide is the vice or malady of

civilized nations. The highest ambition and dearest wish of the Montenegrines is, to die in their mutual combats, or national expeditions. Should a father suspect the courage of his son, or should he discover in him the least symptom of timidity, he would load him with imprecations, and say contemptuously: "Go wretch, you dishonour your family; you will die in your bed." This is the strongest term of reproach that can be used. It is a sentence that falls like a thunderbolt on him against whom it is directed. There are no regular physicians or surgeons in Montenegro; but certain peasants undertake, gratuitously, the cure of diseases. They use no medicines, except juices extracted from particular plants, of which they alone possess the secret. I had a long conversation with two of these men, who, though quite ignorant of the theory of medicine, did not reason badly on the causes of disease. They were possessed of considerable information, the result of long experience. Certain mountaineers also devote themselves gratuitously to the cure of fractures and ruptures, and to the practice of inoculation, which is managed here with such skill and success, that there is scarcely any person to be seen disfigured by the ravages of the small-pox. The vladika had introduced vaccination previous to my arrival in Montenegro, and he often discoursed with me on the subject before the peasants, in order to afford me an opportunity of expressing my approbation of it, and expatiating upon its advantages.

After many days' stay at Piessiori, I departed with my escort. After proceeding about four miles, we were overtaken by a terrible storm of rain, which greatly retarded our progress; and finding, at five o'clock in the evening, that it would be impossible to reach the place of our destination that night, we retreated to an old barn on the left of the road. Here we made a fire and cooked our victuals. After the repast, our conversation grew warm, and gave rise to a singular incident; to enable the reader to understand which, it will be necessary for me to go back to a former period. Two months before I set out on my travels (the 23d of August) the Montenegrines, whose numbers amounted to 1,800, threatened the taking of Cattaro. I received information of their design; and, having collected a force of 800 men, I occupied Mount Vermoz, which commands all the country, and from whence I could observe the least movement of the enemy. The Montenegrines, who knew the advantage of the post I occupied, soon advanced to attack me; but they were received by so warm a firing, that they were obliged to retire precipitately. The enemy again advanced, apparently with the intention of attacking me; but my troops stood firm, and the Montenegrines,

finally retreated, uttering the most dreadful imprecations. Our conversation now happened to turn on the subject of the above engagement, but it appeared that none of the escort knew who commanded our troops on that occasion. One of the speakers observed, that the commander was a colonel who served under me at the time; I told him he was mistaken. "It does not signify," replied he, "be the commander who he may, he would have been beaten if we had attacked him again. On hearing this, I could not remain silent. "I know the commander," said I, "it was myself. Would to God that you had returned to the charge! My measures were taken; not one of you would have escaped." Upon this the Montenegrine rose and advanced towards me. I rose also, and when we were face to face, "Audacious man," said he, "you are here in our power and you dare to brave us!"—"What," replied I, "because you may dishonour yourself by assassinating me, ought I to sacrifice my honour among people who so dearly prize their independence."—"Do you forget that you are alone?" retorted he.—"No; but which of you would commit a useless crime? I can but die; no matter whether a little sooner or a little later. But see, I am without arms." Upon this the Montenegrine, embracing me, exclaimed, "Brother, brother, your frankness pleases and honours us. Why will so many of your countrymen still believe that we are barbarians? May God preserve you!" The spectators joined in the approbation which this man bestowed on me, and from that time they treated me with more respect than ever. I slept soundly during the night, on some mantles spread on the ground, and in the morning the chiefs of the escort of the Upper Mountains took leave of me with many expressions of regret. We re-commenced our journey by a very difficult route, and were obliged to cross many rapid torrents; some of which flow during the whole of the year and form beautiful cascades. The weather was fine, and my escort amused themselves by relating to each other what they had observed during their intercourse with the inhabitants of the Upper Mountains, and comparing the habits of the latter with their own. I took a share in this conversation, in the hope of being able to obtain some information respecting their manners and customs. The result of what I learned I shall now detail.

In all countries, customs are derived from the wants of man and from the nature of the soil and the climate. Many of the customs of the Montenegrines differ completely from those of the other nations by whom they are surrounded. I have already observed, that, almost from the cradle, they receive the arms they are destined to bear throughout their lives. When

the child is capable of using arms, his relations and friends assemble to witness his skill in firing; and when, after many trials, he hits the mark, his father again placing the arms in his hands, says: "Bring them back, or never again appear before me." In war, the Montenegrines use neither horses nor carriages: they sleep on the ground, and on rocks, uncovered and exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, which they endure without murmuring, and without experiencing the least injury to their health. As the country presents at each step new and secure positions, they profit skilfully of this advantage in carrying on defensive warfare; and the neighbouring countries so much resemble their own, that, when they act on the offensive, they are enabled to advance from rock to rock without being seen, until they come within reach of the enemy. Their whole manœuvring consists in this, or in sudden, bold, and impetuous movements. Sometimes, from a point where there appear to be only a few scattered sharp-shooters, a host of warriors will issue forth and overwhelm the astonished enemy. But these attacks are conducted without order, judgment, or any sort of methodical arrangement.

Having had an opportunity of observing the Montenegrines for a long period, in all their different situations, and having had frequent conversations with men of all classes among them, I think I am enabled to form a correct opinion of their character. They are cunning and passionate, but bold and intrepid in combat. They are furious in revenge, and ignorant and superstitious in religion. They are eager to obtain information, but are amazingly credulous. In their dealings they are interested, but very honest. They are kind and hospitable towards strangers who claim their protection, faithful to their promises, constant in friendship, pious towards their parents, strongly attached to their country, and jealous of their independence. One of the most honourable traits in the character of these people is, the profound veneration with which they regard old age. When a young person perceives an old man, he hastens towards him, kisses him on the breast, and bows respectfully. The old man places his hand on the head of the youth, and kisses him on the forehead. Into what gross error have those persons fallen, who, without examination, have described these people as little better than barbarians and cannibals. The Montenegrines know too well the bad opinion that many travellers have expressed respecting them, and their pride is greatly offended by it. Conscious of not having deserved this bad report, they seize every opportunity of removing its ill effects by frequent explanations.

CHAPTER XIX.

Conclusion of our Journey.—Arrival at Dobro.—Act and Festival of Reconciliation.

HAVING bid adieu to the inhabitants of the Upper Mountains, we proceeded towards the large village of Dobro. The place is perceptible from a considerable distance, being situated on a barren hill, which commands a view of Katunskanahia, and Rieska, together with the beautiful plain of Cettigné, Montesello crowned with larch-trees, and the rivers Segliante and Rocovezernovich. The inhabitants of Dobro immediately came out to meet us, as soon as the first gun was fired by our escort.

The houses, chapels, and churches which I visited, supplied me with materials for observation. But one circumstance in particular afforded me the greatest satisfaction. A festival, to which the people of Montenegro attach the highest importance, was to have taken place seven or eight days before my arrival; and the vladika gave orders for its delay, in order that I might have an opportunity of witnessing it. It certainly well deserves a detailed description.

The passions of all people who live in a state of freedom are vehement. They love with ardour; but should any cause arise to change that sentiment, their hatred is no less violent. The Montenegrines are revengeful, and nothing effaces from their hearts the recollection of an injury. If a man be killed, all his relatives wage open war against the family of the murderer, until some of them forfeit their lives. Nothing satiates their rage until blood is shed; and sometimes blood merely adds fuel to the flame. Thus a vast field is open to all sorts of attacks and recriminations. Revenge is transmitted from father to son; and after a long series of crimes on both sides, it is only terminated by the payment of a fine; the amount of which is decreed according to the rank and number of the victims. These fines are paid either in money, household utensils, gold and silver trinkets, or valuable arms. The forms which accompany these payments, and which are intended to ensure the inviolability of the reconciliation, occasionally become the object of grand public ceremonies, which engross the attention of the whole country, and excite the curiosity of the most indifferent. These ceremonies are attended with vast expence, and are therefore only accessible by the rich.

When two families, who, for a long period, have cherished resentment, resolve to become friends, they solicit the convocation of a *Kméti*, (a special tribunal) consisting of twenty-

four old men of note, twelve of whom are chosen by each family. The curate of the village of the person who has been last attacked, or some other distinguished individual of the place, is appointed the president of the *kméti*, and it is his duty to count the votes, if they be divided; but this rarely happens, for the affair is generally discussed and the result decided before-hand. On the day of the convocation of the *kméti*, a solemn fast is observed. Flags are seen flying round the church, and the bells ring incessantly; but it is remarkable, that on these occasions not a single musket is fired, until the whole ceremony is concluded. The *kméti* assembles one hour after mass, to calculate *the blood that has been shed*. They estimate a wound, which is termed *a blood*, at ten sequins; the death of a man, which is styled *a head*, is equivalent to ten wounds, and consequently to a hundred sequins; the head of a priest, or of the chief of a commune, is valued at the rate of seven times higher than that of any other person. This sort of estimates have existed from time immemorial, though they are now occasionally altered by the mutual agreement of the parties. On the fines being paid, the *kméti* has the privilege of retaining forty sequins; but they are generally restored to the party who paid them. After making a correct estimate of the fines, the *kméti* communicates the result to the parties concerned, who themselves fix the day for the ceremony. They give notice to their neighbours and friends, so that they may make the necessary preparations for appearing in their best attire. Finally, the day, the hour, and the place for the sanctioning of the public sentence are decided on. It is, however, necessary to give notice of the circumstance to the vladika, or the governor, who frequently attends in person, accompanied by a numerous retinue.

On the day announced for the payment of the fines, the clerk of the *kméti* sends twelve children at the breast, carried in their nurses' arms, to the door of the person offended. Each child is provided with a little handkerchief; they knock at the door, and, by dint of their innocence, they are supposed to soften the indignation of the offended party; who, after having for some time resisted their cries, at length opens the door, and receives the handkerchiefs. A solemn mass is performed, accompanied by a fast, a display of flags, and a ringing of bells, as before. On leaving mass, the twenty-four members of the *kméti* assemble at the appointed place, which is usually some enclosed spot near the convent or church of the village of the offended party, who makes his appearance, accompanied by all his relations, and preceded by the papa. At the extremity of the enclosure, they range themselves in a

large semi-circle, separated from the multitude; and within the boundary the members of the *kméti* take their places. The aggressor, attended by his nearest relatives, now appears on his knees, at the entrance of the enclosure, carrying, suspended from his neck, the weapon with which the last murder was committed; he advances, crawling on his hands and knees, and stations himself before the *kméti*. The papa then unties the murderous weapon, and throws it to as great a distance as he is able, and the spectators snatch it up and break it in pieces. The criminal, addressing himself to the tribunal, declares his readiness to submit to its decision: he then turns to his adversary, and asks him whether he renounces vengeance and enmity. Meanwhile, the offended person looks up to heaven, weeps, hesitates, and sighs; his mind seems agitated by a thousand various sentiments. The friends of both parties urge a reconciliation; they seem to dread the refusal which the offended party still has the power of pronouncing, and the most distinguished persons of the assembly gather round him. After a few moments entreaty, they leave him to his own reflections; while the aggressor, still in the humble posture before described, dares not raise his eyes for fear of encountering a reproachful glance.

Amidst this profound silence, a priest advances to the offended person, and raising his hand, points to heaven, without uttering a single word. His heart instantly relents, and his anger vanishes; with one hand he raises his prostrate enemy, and with the other points to heaven, exclaiming:—"Great God, bear witness that I forgive him." The two enemies then mutually embrace, and the air resounds with the acclamations of the spectators. The person who has thus pardoned his enemy, pronounces, in a loud tone of voice, in the presence of the *kméti*, a formal oath that he renounces all resentment and all his *rights* of vengeance.

In a few moments, the *kméti* and the relations of both parties, headed by the two new friends, proceed to the house of the aggressor, where a grand feast is prepared, consisting of maize-cakes, cheese, honey, and a profusion of meat of various kinds, together with brandy and wine. It is generally on these occasions that sheep, pigs, and even bullocks are roasted whole in the open air. All the relatives and friends of the parties, and even all chance-passengers, have a right to partake of the feast, for which an extensive piece of ground is selected. The utmost cheerfulness prevails among the assembled multitude, and the banquet is enlivened by heroic songs and national dances.

The fines previously agreed on are paid while the guests

are at table; the money, gold, and jewels, are deposited in a large basin, and the larger articles are presented by the hand. Sometimes the offended party is generous enough to decline receiving them. In course of the ceremony, a duplicate-copy of the sentence is written out on one piece of paper, and it is presented to the curate, in order that he may deliver a copy to each party. The sheet of paper on which the sentence is written, is divided into two pages, to each of which are affixed the ends of a piece of cord, having a very thin Turkish coin fastened in the middle of it: the curate or president cuts the coin into two equal parts, and then separates the two pages, so that each has one half of the coin attached to it, as a proof of its identity. An instance never occurs of these reconciliations being broken; the same families may be engaged in fresh quarrels, but any that may have taken place previous to this formal decision is never renewed.

This individual reconciliation produces a general agreement throughout all the members of both families; and the agreement is ratified by mutual oaths, which among the Montenegrines are held strictly inviolable.

CHAPTER XX.

Amusements of the Montenegrines.—Fishing.—Arrival at Cettigné.—Cantharides.

I HAD hoped to find the bishop at Dobro; but, as the fishing season had set in, he had departed to visit the banks of the Schinizza and the Ricovezernovich. I was informed that in the evening he was expected at Cesini, and I resolved to proceed thither, lest I should lose the opportunity of seeing him. We left Dobro the day after the ceremony of the reconciliation. It was late in the evening when we reached Cesini, where we found the bishop, who received me with every demonstration of joy.

During the evening our conversation turned on fishing. The rivers above-mentioned are abundantly stocked with fish of every sort; but particularly by a species called by the natives *Scuranza*. It is a small white fish, in size something between the pilchard and the herring: it comes up from the Lake of Scutari, twice a-year, in vast abundance, and forms an important article of trade for the inhabitants. On the day after our arrival the bishop invited us to join the fishing party. The Montenegrine mode of fishing is extremely curious, and is above all remarkable for the religious ceremonies

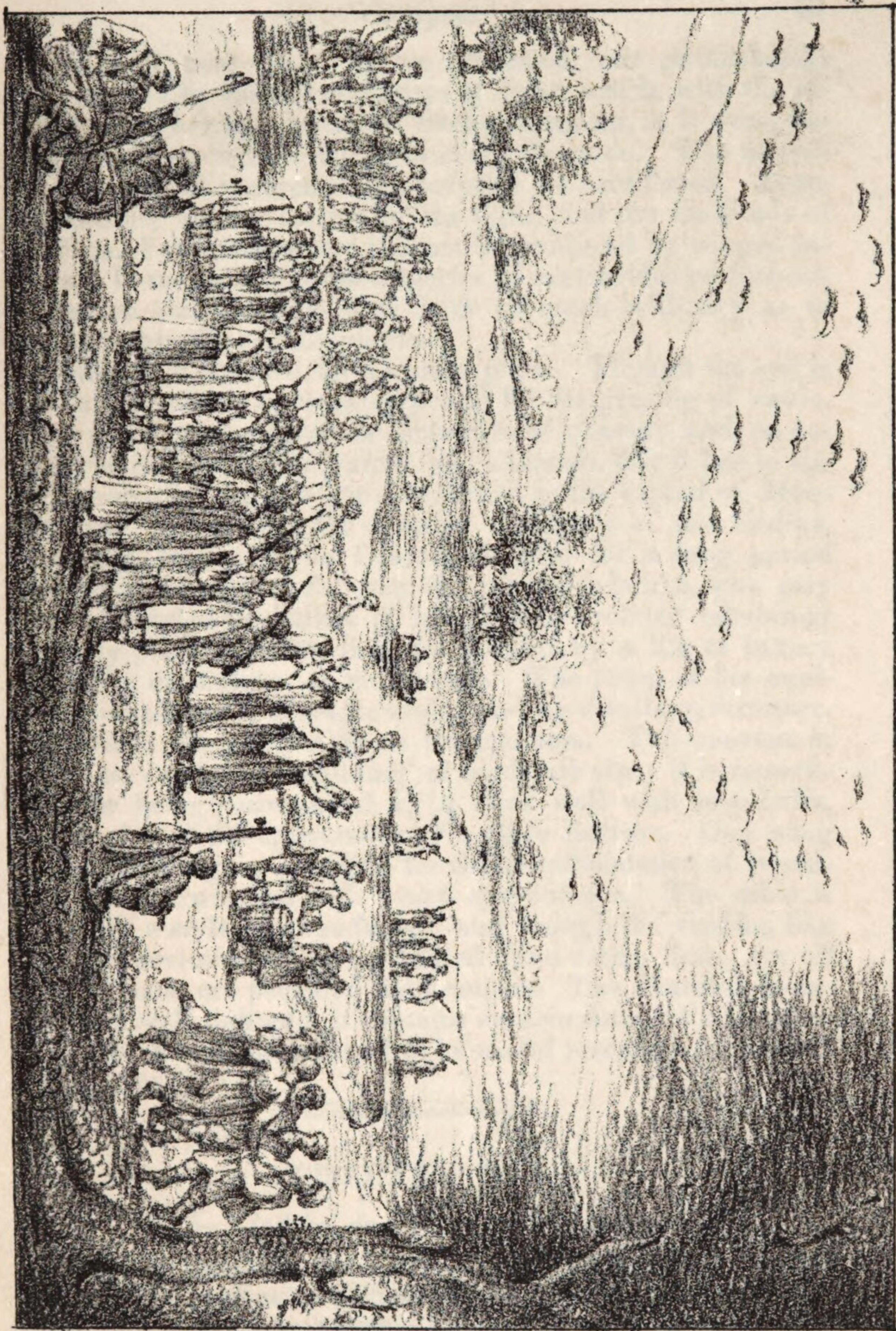
which accompany it: nothing can more strongly prove the superstition of the people.

During the fishing season a species of crow, resembling the sea-gull, appears in great numbers on the banks of the rivers: these birds, which are employed in fishing, are held sacred by the Montenegrines, and woe be to him who should by any accident happen to kill one of them. The fishermen, priests, &c. proceed to those parts of the river where the fish are supposed to be most abundant, where solemn prayers are offered up for the favour of Heaven. The fishermen place fishing-nets and baskets, resting on reeds, on the edges of the river, along the whole space occupied by the *fishing-birds*, which are perched on the trees and neighbouring rocks. The fishermen then scatter on the surface of the river grains of corn, and other seed, mixed with honey: the fish dart upwards to catch the bait, and immediately the birds pounce upon them. The fish, alarmed at the sight of their enemies, take refuge in the nets, which, in a few moments are abundantly filled, and the fishermen empty them into barrels provided for the purpose. These operations are continued hourly for the space of fifteen or twenty days.

Finally, on the last day of the fishing, which only terminates with the disappearance of the fish and the departure of the birds, parties, consisting of men, women, and children, assemble on the banks of the river, and the fish are abundantly distributed among them. Every one carries provisions along with them; dancing and singing are prolonged until a late hour in the night, and fires are kindled. Independantly of fish being an important article of trade among the Montenegrines, it is consumed by themselves in great quantities, on account of the many days on which they are forbidden to eat flesh.

We remained only three days with the fishing party; had I been master of my time I should certainly have staid much longer. We proceeded up the banks of the river, which, in some places, is so extremely narrow as to be almost imperceptible: sometimes it appears to be buried in the bosom of the earth, and at other times it works its way across inaccessible rocks. The whole of the left bank is bordered with beautiful pastures, gardens, and plantations of lime-trees. We crossed the river by a wretched bridge, formed of trunks of trees, resting on two high points of rock, and in a quarter of an hour after we perceived Cettigné on our right.

In the evening we reached Cettigné, where we were expected, and where we experienced the warmest reception, though the vladika was not at the monastery: he did not



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arrive until next day. As we advanced, our astonishment was excited by innumerable rays of light, which, with the rapidity of lightning, described circles rising up, as it were, beneath our feet, and diverging in every direction. The natives appeared much amused at the surprise we manifested. From the celerity of the motion of the light, and the similitude of its form, I concluded that it must be produced by winged insects. It turned out to be a species of cantharides or Spanish fly, which shines in the dark with so much brilliancy as to produce the effect of fire-works.

Cettigné is situated on a square plain. Though the soil is not very fertile, it answers very well for the grazing of cattle. This place produces great quantities of cheese; and, on account of its population, extent, and situation, (for it lies in the very centre of the state) it is regarded as the capital of Montenegro. It has been the constant residence of the vladika, since the time of Ivan Czernovich, who for a long period made it his abode. Like him the present vladika, who may justly be styled the father of his people, declined inhabiting a stately palace, or offending the faithful by a life of luxury unworthy the fathers of the church. The pomp of his equipages is reduced to a single mule; and his dwelling, furniture, and dress, are as humble as his manners. The convent in which he resides is a building of moderate size; it is remarkable for being surrounded by a thick wall with loop-holes, which gives it the appearance of a little fortress. One wing of the building is set aside for the accommodation of travellers, and is furnished with every convenience. The table is served in a style of abundance; and though the vladika, like all other ecclesiastics, is prohibited from eating flesh, yet all sorts of meat are provided for strangers. The church is beautiful and well lighted; it contains an abundance of rich offerings, which have been found to be useful resources in cases of emergency.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Vladika, or Bishop of Montenegro.

PETER PETROVICH, the Vladika of Montenegro, is a native of Gnegussi, and is now about sixty-five years of age (1813). He is tall, well-made, wears a long beard, and altogether has an air of dignity which commands respect. He is affable and polite; and not only charitable, but truly hospitable towards all who visit him, whatever religion they may profess. He understands Italian, German, and Russian, and knows some-

thing of English and a little of French. He constantly speaks the Illyrian language. Having passed through all the orders of the church, in the year 1777 he was anointed bishop at Carlovich, under the protection of Joseph II., by a Greek Servian bishop of Hungary: he was then only thirty years of age. At an early period of life he travelled through all the principal cities of Europe. At Vienna the emperor loaded him with presents; from thence he proceeded to St. Petersburg, where he became acquainted with the Abbé Francis Dobrotowich, known by the name of *Dolci*, a distinguished literary character, whom the bishop took with him in the quality of secretary to Montenegro. The prelate also became connected with Count Zwanovich; but all three having incurred the suspicion of the police of St. Petersburg, were accused of plots, and banished from Russia. The vladika, however, subsequently returned to justify his character, and the emperor being perfectly satisfied of his innocence, created him a member of the grand synod, and invested him with the orders of St. Anne and St. Alexander Newsky.

The dress of the vladika is nearly the same as that worn by the Eastern Greek priests. It consists of a crimson dalmatick, fastened down to the feet by gold clasps: it is confined round the waist by a long piece of azure or black velvet, ornamented with diamonds, and embroidered with gold. Over the dalmatick, which has long full sleeves, is worn a simar with sleeves reaching only to the middle of the arm. The simar is either of violet-colour or black satin, according to the importance of the ceremony. The vladika wears on his head a black velvet-cap, ornamented in front with a diamond-cross: on the crown is fastened a large veil of lace, or any other white transparent stuff, which hangs down on the shoulders, ornamented with large gold acorns. The episcopal cross, set with brilliants, is suspended from his neck by a gold-chain which reaches nearly to the waist. He also wears the cross of St. Anne of Russia, set with diamonds. An ebony-cane and a valuable ring are the distinctive marks of his episcopal dignity. On his left hand he wears another ring, which shews him to be a member of the synod of St. Petersburg.

Four archimandrites, that is to say, heads of convents, who are the brothers or nephews of the bishop, constitute the episcopal court, independently of the principal monks of the convent where the bishop resides. The brothers and nephews of the bishop have no distinction in their dress, except a spencer of embroidered black velvet, like those worn by the primates and the knezes: all assist at the council, though they exercise no authority whatever.



The Vladika, or Bishop.

The vladika maintains his household on the produce of his own private domains ; his revenue consists of corn, cattle, and fish, and its value amounts to about three thousand gold sequins. For some time past, his income has been increased by a grant from the Russian court. He is also possessed of considerable treasures : for the Czars of Russia have at various times sent to his church magnificent presents of jewels, gold, and silver. The court of Vienna has also occasionally added to the treasures of the bishop ; and whilst the Venetian republic flourished, he made frequent visits to that power, and never returned without valuable presents.

The period of the first institution of the bishopric of Montenegro is a matter of great uncertainty. The bishop must be anointed by the Patriarch of Pech, the head of the Servian Greek religion. He is elected by the monks of the convents of St. Basil and Cettigné. This election has, for a long period, been in favour of individuals of the same family : the reigning vladika, as well as his predecessor, is a descendant of the *Petroviches*.

The Bishop of Montenegro takes the title of *Scandaria primaria*, that is to say, Archbishop of Montenegro, Albania, and the countries situated on the sea-coast ; including the mouths of the Cattaro, and the Cadilicks of Antivari and Dulcigno. This ecclesiastical prince has always shewn a strong disposition to take part in the political events of his age. At the fall of the Venetian republic, he adroitly rendered himself master of Budua, in July 1797. Finding, however, that he could not advantageously contend against the Austrian power, he surrendered the place to the German general, who arrived to take possession of it, in the name of his sovereign.

He subsequently took Miraz. This village, which had formerly belonged to the Venetian government, yielded to the Montenegrine yoke on the instigation of the bishop, who had long been eager to possess it. It had been assigned by the republic as a portion to the Catholic Bishop of Cattaro, who, in consequence, took the title of Count of Miraz. In 1804, the vladika was accused of corresponding with the French, who were then meditating the conquest of Dalmatia. It was about this period that the counsellor-of-state Sankoski prevailed on the Montenegrines to swear allegiance to the Emperor Alexander, for whom they now entertain not only respect, but sentiments of sincere affection. This predilection for the Russian power is owing not merely to the religion which the Montenegrines profess in common with the Russians, but also to their national habits and tastes. Indeed, it is impossible to imagine a greater similarity between two nations, situated at

such a distance from each other. The Russian decorations granted to the vladika, together with the titles and honours conferred on distinguished Montenegrines, of whom several have visited the court of St. Petersburg, have contributed, no less than the circumstances above-mentioned, to attach the people to Russia.

The vladika relies so entirely on his policy, that, while he is at war with the Turks, he does not seem at all anxious to preserve friendly terms with his other neighbours. We have seen him overwhelmed with the favours of Paul I. and courting the protection of Russia, while at the same time, when the Illyrian provinces were in the power of the Germans, he did not scruple to hint to the court of Vienna that he was ready to yield to its dominion. In spite of all his demonstrations of friendship, the vladika incessantly continued to disturb the tranquillity of the Province of Cattaro, under the Austrian government, (in 1806) by disputes respecting territorial boundaries, &c. It may also be remarked, that in all the convulsions which have agitated Europe, since the period of the French revolution, the Montenegrine bishop has constantly endeavoured to gain possession of the countries along the coast. It will naturally be supposed that, in my conversations with the vladika, I was cautious not to pronounce any opinion on these delicate matters: besides, considering the candour and sincerity with which he acknowledged all his political manœuvring, I could not with very good grace have assumed the tone of irony or reproach.

It must certainly be confessed, that the Montenegrine bishop had little cause to hesitate in his choice between Austria and Russia. Conformity of religion operated powerfully in favour of the latter. Had the vladika preferred serving the interests of the German emperor, he would soon have been tormented by the clergy of Vienna, who would have made him feel the effects of their supremacy, and perhaps have compelled him to adopt the Roman Catholic faith. Besides, the independence of Montenegro must have been more endangered by the immediate neighbourhood of the Austrian troops, than by the distant position of the Russian power, which can never make a hostile movement without the whole country being prepared to oppose it. These considerations must have influenced the decision of the vladika.

Nothing is more amusing than to observe the air of stupid astonishment with which these simple and unpolished mountaineers gaze on their vladika on festival-days, when he wears a cap composed almost entirely of gold, and is covered with Russian orders and ribbands. They surround and follow him,

and seem to ask each other if it is possible he can be one of their countrymen, an inhabitant of their poor rocks, a monk of the monastery of St. Basil? But it must be confessed that in this respect nations, more civilized, are not much wiser. On this point, perhaps, the Montenegrine bishop thought it necessary to sacrifice his own taste to that of the general practice of his equals in other countries. Should the reader be surprised that I dwell thus long on the character of the Montenegrine prelate, I beg to observe that, since the accession of the present bishop to the clerical throne, a universal change has taken place. The governor is now only a secondary agent, without influence, power, or any other prerogatives than mere external honours. Every thing is executed by the order of the vladika, and nothing without him.

The desire manifested by the vladika, for the augmentation of his power, is not, however, so very extraordinary, or reprehensible, considering the present institutions of Europe, which are no longer governed by the strict principles of Christianity.

However, no one thinks of calling in question the temporal power of the Montenegrine vladika. He uses his authority with all the moderation that can be expected, and people revere, love, and obey him.

CHAPTER XXII.

Political System of the Vladika, or Bishop of the Montenegrines.

ONE morning early the vladika, or bishop, came to my apartment, with more than his usual earnestness of manner. "Do you know the news?" said he.—"What news, my Lord?" answered I.—"Why," replied he, "the French are going to invade Russia; and I am sorry for it, for I have really a regard for you; but all our desires and hopes are directed towards Russia, and I foresee that your enterprize will be your ruin."—"But how can such a thing be, my Lord? how can that be known among the mountains in the interior of the country of which we should be ignorant down on the coast? The Russian squadron in the bay of Cattaro has received no late orders: the commander and I are on the very best terms together; no act whatever seems to indicate the slightest misunderstanding between the two courts!"—"The information has reached me," said the bishop, "in a private way."—"In that case I have nothing to say; I have only to make haste back to my

post.”—“No, no, no such hurry: what I have mentioned is only a project, and projects of that kind are not so quickly executed. But to speak frankly, you Frenchmen understand nothing in the management of great public affairs in your dealings with other states.”—“Pardon me, my Lord; honesty is always between nations the best policy: by it the true interests of each are duly considered and respected: by it durable harmony is established and maintained.”—“Right, my friend; so it ought to be: but what is the conduct of more courts than one in Europe now-a-days? Were we to judge by their practice we should conceive modern politics to consist in the art of diverting the attention, or betraying the confidence of a prince, in order to concert our plans for seizing the most valuable portion of his dominions, or by false pretences to benumb his preparations for defence: by specious projects to disarm his suspicions: to entangle him probably in some speculation by which our secret schemes shall be promoted, and that at his own expence. The policy of these days is in fact only the school of delusion, in which is taught a system of deception and trick.”—“Alas! my Lord, all this is but too true, as my own experience has shown to me: hence empires have been overthrown; nations have been ruined; the world has been brought into confusion. Were all people, who have a right to look up to their sovereigns for an example of political conduct, to tread in the steps of my countrymen of France, what would soon be their portion? would it not be precisely what we have experienced? we of France by turns the innocent cause and the suffering object—the enthusiastic agent and the deplorable victim. What have princes not to answer for, who do not labour, by the probity and uprightness of their intercourse with other nations, and by the wisdom, justice, and beneficence of their administration at home, to prevent the approach of such disasters?”—“This is a subject,” rejoined the vladika, squeezing my hand, “on which we might expatiate for ever: but as for us Montenegrines, who occupy but a point, as it were, on the globe, we conduct our political differences just as differences are settled in private families.”

In this way continued for two hours my conversation with the bishop, who, nevertheless, expects to treat with other powers as the chief of a state of importance in Europe. He has his own system of policy, his agents, and his envoys. They are not, it is true, invested with external pomp; they have no treasures at their command; they seldom traverse distant regions, to negotiate for a contemptible nook of land, the abode of slavery and wretchedness. No; the envoys of Montenegro, carrying with them a morsel of bread baked under the ashes,

without parade, without attendants, without unnecessary expence, undertake and accomplish their embassies with the severe air and manners of ancient Lacedemon. Yet the objects of their mission are of intrinsic, not imaginary importance. Whatever relates to individual property, to the territory, the independence and security of the state, is entrusted to their negotiation. Such are the practices, such are the principles fostered and maintained by the vladika. At the head of a people still little removed from the simplest ideas of society; his ambition, prompted and directed by his love for his flock, much more than by a regard to his personal interests; a man of sterling common sense, possessing complete authority over a race of men, not less independent in mind than intrepid in action; no project does he form which he is unable to achieve. In his intercourse with those on whose friendship he cannot fully rely, his conduct is extremely guarded, perhaps artful; but no sooner is the business arranged than his demeanour is marked by candour and frankness.

Zealously attached to the Greek system of Christianity, it is not surprising that the Montenegrines should turn their eyes for protection to that prince who is at the head of the professors of the same system. By his relation with the government of Turkey, the Emperor of Russia may render them important services; while, by his local situation, and other circumstances, it is out of his power to do them any injury.

In the course of a conversation one day with the bishop, relative to the situation of his people with respect to their neighbours of other states, he furnished me with the following information:—

“ In our relations with the adjoining states our attention is principally, indeed necessarily, drawn to our southern neighbours the Albanians, the country now under the rod of Ali Pasha.—Albania is divided into two regions—the mountains of the interior, and the plains along the Adriatic. The Christian population comprehends both the Greek and the Latin or Roman churches. The latter have always preserved their allegiance to whatever sovereign may rule among them. The Greeks of the coast-districts, without openly declaring themselves rebels, have nevertheless been less steady in their fidelity. They are certainly disposed to favour the Emperor of Russia, who professes their religion; but being devoted to trade and sea-affairs, a sense of interest restrains them from a public manifestation of their inclinations. Those of the Greek church who inhabit the mountainous region are of doubtful allegiance to the Porte; because they have neither trade nor any other superior interest to balance their aversion to the Turkish

sway. In this diversity of character, their religious system has a material influence; for among the multitude it is still contaminated by the prejudices and errors of the dark ages. Attached to their religion with sentiments of superstition rather than of devotion, they reject decidedly whatever opinions or practices differ from their own; and yet externally they profess the principles of toleration. Such was the general statement of the vladika.

The nature and character of the Montenegrines were perfectly understood by the Venetian government: no inhabitant of the mountains was therefore ever suffered to settle in their province of Cattaro; not even to pass the night in it, without a special permission from the local government, on the security of some of the Venetian inhabitants. No Greek church could be built within their bounds, without the consent of the senate; nor could the Greek bishop exercise but a very restricted portion of his spiritual authority. In accordance with the same religious attachments has been the conduct of Russia, which has long been in the habit of distributing presents among the Montenegrine clergy. Natives of the country, induced to enter into the Russian army, have been promoted with extraordinary favour. Titles and money have been plentifully bestowed on the bishop. These, and other marks of predilection, from the hand of the autocrate of the north, have produced the intended effect on the unsophisticated and ardent minds of the Montenegrines. The fall of the antique and powerful republic of Venice, in 1797, exposed the province of Cattaro to the greatest danger. The Bishop of Montenegro employed every art to engage his people to open their arms to the Russians. He laboured to gain the Venetian towns of Zuppa and Castel-Nuovo, both of the Greek church. But neither ventured to declare in his favour. He took therefore the resolution to declare himself and his people united to the Russian empire. From that hour he assumed episcopal powers over the Greek churches not within his own territory; he announced himself to be *autokephalos*, or episcopal chief; at the same time that he professed submission to the Greek patriarch in Hungary. Availing himself of every method to enlarge his authority and influence, the bishop or vladika impressed on the minds of the Greeks of Albania, that their country also ought to be placed under the protection of Russia. By his skilful management he acquired possession of several fortresses of the former Venetian government; and from that of Stagnevich, where he now passes the winter, he maintains his preponderance over all the surrounding districts.

This was the state of affairs in 1797, when, on the 1st of

August, appeared in the bay of Cattaro a Russian squadron, commanded by Rukawina, who loaded the bishop with his attentions, and caressed or neglected the principal people of the country, in proportion as they were the supporters or the opponents of the vladika.

Soon afterwards the bishop was invested with the emblems of an illustrious Russian order of knighthood; and the Russian flag was solemnly displayed from the walls of Stagnevich.

By their local position and their religion, the Montenegrines and the Turks mutually detest each other: the same feeling, and for the same reasons, animates the Russians and the Turks. Hence the importance of Montenegro to Russia, which is able by that aperture to threaten, if not to harass, Turkey, on all her European frontier. Hence, in 1805, the Montenegrines zealously supported the Russians against the French, from whom they had nothing to expect, but much, as they thought, to fear for their religion, their commerce, and their independence.

During the reign of Britain over the Mediterranean, the commerce of the Adriatic could with great difficulty be carried on; the French armies in that quarter were therefore reduced to the greatest distress for provisions. The soil and the climate of Dalmatia are alike favourable to the raising of corn; but from the mountainous nature of the country, all the land applicable to cultivation will not furnish a supply for five months in the year. In this state it became advisable to endeavour to engage the Montenegrines to furnish some supplies in the markets of the province of Cattaro. Notwithstanding their hostile prejudices, the sense of interest quickly attracted abundance of necessaries. The women first appeared alone; but by their report of the good treatment received from the French, the men also were induced to make their appearance in the markets. This happy state of matters continued without interruption until March 1809, when the French troops were withdrawn for a distant service, and other troops, not French by birth, took their place. Without intending the slightest reflection on those corps, it may be admitted that several of the Italian soldiers conducted themselves so improperly, with respect to the Montenegrines, as to excite the bitterest hatred; and the result was, that several of their own officers, although wholly innocent, were cruelly massacred.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Trade.—Quarrels.—Pacification.

WERE it even in my power I would not here specify the various and multiplied acts practised by the Italian soldiers in the French service, on the ignorant and unsuspecting mountaineers, who reported their injuries to the bishop. Gross fraud, and every artful theft in dealing with them, roused all the ancient animosities against the Italians; animosities which the bishop restrained, until he should be ready to inflict the merited punishment, naturally hastened on by misconduct of a still more injurious kind.

On the 6th of August, 1809, several Montenegrines, who had come into Cattaro on the market-day, were drinking in the neighbourhood of the market-place. Two Italian soldiers went into their company, and saying in the country language, *dobro jutro braté* (good morning, brother) laid hold of the moustachio of one of the Montenegrines. Jealous of the honour of his face, the mountaineer answered by firing his pistol at the soldier, but missed him, and instantly made his escape. Some artillery-men hearing the report rushed forward on the fugitive, and wounded him with their swords. Confusion ensued, and it was with the greatest difficulty that peace was restored. But the Montenegrines no longer resorted to our markets: on the contrary, parties of them traversed the country round, to excite to revenge. Not only the soldiers, but even the people of the town, who favoured the French, could no longer venture without the gates. The mountaineers intercepted our communications; they broke up the roads which we had formed; they attacked our out-posts. They were seen in great numbers on all the heights which hang over Cattaro, observing all our motions, and prepared to seize the moment to pour down upon our men.

The Italian officers were in the habit of dining at five o'clock, in a casino or subscription club-house, a musket-shot from the town on the sea-shore. A plan was formed by the mountaineers to surprize and massacre them in that place, on the 12th of August, 1809. A party of the Montenegrines, only nine in number, had the boldness to come down under the guns of the town, while the others remained on the hills, to observe and take advantage of what might occur below. The small party dividing themselves took post at the two doors of the mess-room, the one opening to the road, the other to the garden. Arriving at their posts at the same instant, both parties discharged their pieces on the officers at table, of

whom five and a surgeon were killed, and some others were wounded: the remainder made their escape in the utmost consternation. It so happened, that not one of the Italian officers was armed at the time; and not one of them could probably have escaped assassination, had it not have been for the neighbouring inhabitants, who had always evinced their attachment to the French and their cause. The alarm was instantly given; the drum beat to arms; the troops assembled; some shots were fired from the fortifications, but to no effect, towards the hills; the assassins escaped, and the murder remained unavenged.

Notwithstanding this unfortunate business the French governor, Major-general Baron de Sivray, availed himself of every favourable circumstance, to restore the wonted good understanding with the Montenegrines. A conference with the vladika was therefore arranged, of which some notices may be interesting, as explanatory of the manners of that people. The place of meeting was the convent of Lastva, whither the bishop repaired, accompanied by his nephews, by the civil chief and his brothers, and by the other chiefs of the nation; all in their most splendid dress. The company were preceded and followed by a guard of sixty of the bravest warriors of the Montenegrines. The French governor was accompanied by the principal persons of Cattaro, and escorted by a company of grenadiers. The bishop was at the rendezvous before us, for I was also of the party, expecting our governor would have no attendants but his staff-officers. When he saw the troops he withdrew from the convent and hid himself behind the garden. His retreat, joined to our military appearance, alarmed the Montenegrines; but at last prevailing on the vladika to return to the place of conference, all apprehensions on their part were dissipated. On our way back, "if you mean only to compliment me, (said he,) what need of so many troops? may I trust myself with your general? for let me tell you that, when armed, at the head of my brave people, I fear neither battle nor death; but I dread the loss of my personal liberty. Have I been inveigled in the view?"—"My lord," hastily interrupted I, "we are too strong in this quarter to be obliged to resort to treachery. Did you know us better, you would think less injuriously of our disposition."—"Well then, I depend on your word." After the customary compliments at meeting, "I am the friend of peace, my lord," said our general, "but I am not afraid of war. Always prepared to avenge myself of those who attempt to make an ill use of my confidence in their honour, I rejoice that on the present occasion no steps of that kind are necessary. To form and

maintain a friendly understanding with you, my lord, and your people, is my earnest desire; and to convince you of my sincerity, no sacrifice consistent with my duty will I refuse to make." Examining with a keen and rapid eye the countenances of the company, and then seeming for a little time deeply absorbed in thought, the vladika replied in Italian in these terms:—"It is impossible for me, your excellency, not to be sincere on this occasion. The duties of my profession, as a minister of religion, the interests of my fellow-citizens, the respect I owe to my own station and character; and, above all, the will of divine Providence, dispose me to peace. By my readiness to accede to all your proposals of accommodation and friendship, you will perceive the effect which your candour and manly conduct have produced on my mind." The several articles of the convention were accordingly, through the authority of the bishop, speedily arranged and ratified: and our return to Cattaro was celebrated with joy by the inhabitants, who, during the interruption of good understanding with the Montenegrines, had suffered much from a deficiency of many supplies from the country, and had scarcely ventured to take the air beyond the walls.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Fresh Quarrels with the Montenegrines.—Amicable Arrangement with the Vladika.

SCARCELY had I been settled in Cattaro, when I received a letter in Italian from the vladika, expressing his regret at the shortness of our intercourse in the convent of Lastva, and inviting me to visit his country when the season should be favourable. He desired also to leave notice of my movements, that he might not only be at home himself, but provide suitable company to receive me.

Harmony being restored between the Montenegrines and us, mutual intercourse and visits became frequent. But in 1812 the political atmosphere seemed overcast; the clouds were however dissipated by the moderation and management of our commander, General Baron Gauthier, who brought about a second conference with the bishop, or vladika, at Miraz, a village on the limits of the Montenegrine and our countries. By the former convention of 1810, every precaution had been adopted, to obviate any dispute or dissatisfaction; but those precautions had not been always sufficiently effective; and we rather suspected the sincerity of the vla-

dika, when he declared his inability to restrain his people within due bounds. The Montenegrines had on several occasions, in the markets of Budua and Cattaro, insulted the town's people, who endured all with the greatest forbearance. This forbearance was misinterpreted, and encouraged the mountaineers to proceed to greater lengths.

Strong representations on the subject were made to the vladika, who assembled the *knes*, or chiefs, in the plain of Cettigné, and by his influence with them, affairs remained quiet for some months. At last, however, robbery became frequent and open, particularly in the district of Budua on the coast. Mules, cattle, sheep, corn, hay, in fine whatever was accessible, especially about the little town of Zuppa, became the prey of the ungovernable inhabitants of the mountains. Justly provoked by that conduct, the Zuppans resorted to reprisals: the nearest flocks were carried away; and in the contests several persons fell on both sides. Two Montenegrines, taken prisoners in one of these incursions, were sent back by our commander to the vladika; with a temperate representation of their conduct, a manifest infraction of the treaty. The bishop, duly affected by that proceeding, in the name of the assembly of the people, as he expressed it, suggested the propriety of renewing that treaty, in some manner more formal and impressive. For that purpose a day was fixed in June 1812, for a meeting of both parties at Miraz. On that day General Gauthier, with all the principal officers, civil and military, M. Descarnaux, French vice-consul, &c. proceeded to Miraz, under an escort of fifty men, twelve men-at-arms, and a company of Pandours. The boundary between our territory and that of Montenegro is indicated, within a few yards of Miraz, by an enormous block of stone, which has rolled down from the mountains. Behind that rock stood a small Greek chapel; and in it the conference was to be held. As the general drew near, the bishop ordered a discharge of musketry in front of the rock, and then advanced to meet him. Setting his right foot on the French territory, he took the general by the hand and invited him to honour, by his presence, the territory of Montenegro. Then he presented to the general, the governor of his country, the president of the Montenegrine union, that is, in the Illyrian or Slavonian language, *Glavar Governador od skupa Czernogorskoga*. Holding General Gauthier still by the hand, the bishop led him and his suite forward between two deep bodies of armed mountaineers, not fewer than seven hundred men in number, who rent the air with shouts of joy and welcome. The general's escort, excepting the men-at-arms, remained within the

French bounds. Entering the little chapel behind the rock, we found it ornamented with carpets and Russian colours. Two long stone benches were covered with the same colours, and on each were two large silk cushions. No sooner had we entered than breakfast was introduced, consisting, according to custom, of an abundance of meat, with butter, cheese, milk, and wine. While we were busy at our meal, to the bishop was brought in a large locked box, an indispensable part of his baggage when on any expedition. This box was filled with fish dressed in the country-fashion, on which the bishop made a hearty repast; excusing himself to us for not eating with us, by the rules of his profession as a prelate of the Greek church. Placing the box on his knees, he dispatched his breakfast without delay, making use of his fingers instead of a knife and fork. When the entertainment was finished, "I am glad," said the bishop to the general, in the Illyrian tongue, "to see you, that I may gratify the desire I had to be acquainted with you, and to concert with you how best to fulfil my earnest wish to live in peace with the noble French nation." It was observed, that as the bishop spoke Italian fluently, it might be convenient for all that he should employ that language. "General (said he) I must speak so as to be understood by my own people, for whom and in whose name I now act: but you may choose an interpreter." Our vice-consul, M. Descarnaux, was accordingly appointed. The bishop and the general, selecting each three principal witnesses for the conference, all the other persons withdrew. The treaty of 1810 was then formally renewed, and enlarged by some explanatory articles, of which the first it required no little address to carry. The purport of it was, that all Montenegrines who should be guilty of theft or robbery, or who should insult any person within the French bounds, should be tried and punished according to the French laws, without appeal to the tribunals or rulers of their own country. The bishop then standing up took in the one hand General Gauthier and in the other the vice-consul, and going out before the chapel, where the mountaineers were in attendance, he pronounced with a loud voice this address:—"Ye chiefs of the state, and all ye people of the Montenegro, give attention. I have now concluded with the French general, by means of the interpreter now before you, a convention of the following tenor." (Having read it over he proceeded) "this convention made for you and in your name, secures your tranquillity as well as that of our neighbours, our old and good friends. Swear, then, by the Holy Virgin and by Saint Spiridion, to observe and maintain this convention; and that you will punish the first persons

who shall dare to infringe what you have voluntarily stipulated and ratified, be those persons whoever they may."

Then desiring the interpreter to recite aloud, in Italian and French, as well as in the language of the country, the contents of the treaty, the bishop, conducting the general by the hand a few steps on the outside of the boundary rock, embraced him and took his leave. Turning next to the interpreter, M. Descarnaux, "Sir," said he, with a very affectionate air and tone, "I am perfectly satisfied with your manner of seizing and expressing my sentiments. I desire to be your friend; and never forget it, that you may also be mine." Repeated discharges of musketry from both parties resounded among the mountains till we returned into Cattaro, where we were received by the town's people with every expression of joy.

CHAPTER XXV.

Private Character of the Vladika.—Agriculture in Montenegro.—Plants.—Trees.—Fruit.

THE vladika, or bishop, is peculiarly fond of agricultural occupations; and his efforts to introduce useful improvements have been strenuous and unremitting: but his people, (as he styles the mountaineers,) are rigidly attached to the ancient practices of the country. He has always been a lover of the mechanic arts, and has successfully studied their principles. He has also shown a strong taste for geography; and he has collected several good paintings on historical subjects, sacred and profane. In his private life he is methodical and systematic, particularly in his devotional exercises; but, above all, in discharging the various duties of his offices and station. To each hour of the day are allotted certain invariable occupations; but although a man of extraordinary activity, he still laments that he has not time sufficient for executing his multiplied enterprises and projects. Having observed my predilection for botanical and agricultural pursuits, we made several excursions together in the environs of his usual residence. The land is certainly not very favourable for the husbandman; but the bishop, had he discovered a proper disposition among his people, would have endeavoured to introduce such objects of cultivation as seemed to be the best adapted to the several soils and exposures. His gardens are laid out and managed in the Italian taste: but having been unable, by his many avocations, for some years past, to attend to them in per-

son, and even with his own hand, the effects of his absence are now very perceptible.

Although the advanced or retarded state of husbandry in a country be no standard by which we can ascertain the date of its exercise, yet it furnishes an evidence of the condition of the population, and of the progress they have made in all branches of industry. This remark is peculiarly applicable to the Montenegro, a region still, in three-fourths of its extent, left entirely to the unassisted operations of nature. Many portions of the country, however, according to their respective elevation, possess a climate highly favourable to vegetation. But the male-population have transferred the principal and the most laborious operations of agriculture to the females, who exert themselves with admirable courage and perseverance; with less skill, however, and consequently with less success, than ought to be expected from the men. It is a matter of regret that the unbounded notion of liberty which animates the mountaineer, incapacitates him for the labours of the husbandman, or even for steady occupation of any sort in one place for a single day. Restless and impatient of restraint of even his own imposition, he saunters about among his mountains, from break of day, till night or fatigue compel him to return to his home.

The agriculture of the Montenegrines is confined to the raising of the most common articles. The colder districts furnish rye, barley, maize, or Indian-wheat, buck-wheat, hemp, &c. Winter-crops are seldom successful. Other productions are potatoes, yams, cabbages, and carrots. Pease and French-beans answer very well: and all furnish to the inhabitants articles of exportation to their neighbours. Many excellent culinary productions, so abundant and so useful in other parts of Europe, are wholly unknown; but the people indemnify themselves by prodigious crops of onions, shallot, and garlick, of which their constant use renders their approach not the most agreeable. In the lower tracts of country, towards Albania, on their southern boundary, wheat grows to great perfection; and the vine, of which they reckon no fewer than forty-two different kinds, affords exceedingly good wine. The grapes of Czerniska-nahia are peculiarly beautiful and rich. The same quarter produces the olive, as do also certain tracts along the coast. The fig grows spontaneously in various places. A few oranges, lemons, and bergamot citrons, spring out in the sheltered bosom of the rocks. But the fruits are in general in their natural state; for the art of engrafting is wholly unpractised, notwithstanding the attempts of the vladika to instruct his people, by example as well as

by counsel. Nature has occasionally, however, produced very extraordinary specimens of fruit. One year I received a present of peaches, weighing from fifteen to eighteen ounces, and a cedrat, or bergamot citron, weighing upwards of two pounds. Near the sea, or in the lowest vallies, are seen artichokes of extraordinary size; also the melongena, or, as it is absurdly named, the mad-apple, there juicy and agreeable, a common article of food in the Montenegro, both fresh and dried for winter. In the lower districts are also found many varieties of the gourd and melon; what the Italians call the zuccha-santa is particularly esteemed. Of all the cucurbita kind, the most curious is a small melon, about the size of a hen's egg, striped with white, yellow, and green, of a most grateful odour, which adheres to the clothes and even to the apartment, long after the fruit has been removed; the taste is however insipid; cotton is raised by a few persons; but the soil is unfavourable, and the necessary cultivation is not well understood. The favourite cultivation of the Montenegrines, is that of tobacco, of which they make great use; and which grows to a good size, with a flavour not inferior to that of the best tobacco of Albania.

Of late years the Montenegrines begin to cultivate a plant unknown in France, or at least which I never saw in France, nor in any part of the low countries, Germany, Hungary, or Italy; although my inquiries were directed to the most eminent botanists, and the most celebrated botanic gardens in those quarters of Europe. This valuable plant is the *bamia*, which comprehends two species, the great and the little. It is a native of Egypt, and along the western shores of the Red-Sea, where it is much used. The *bamia* belongs to the class of *alcaea*, (holyhock), and the stalk, although not woody, is able to support itself. The leaves, which are downy, resemble those of the vine, but of a paler green. The flower, like that of the *althaea frutex*, is of a sulphur colour. The fruit, when the flower falls off, resembles an acorn; but when fit to be eaten is about five inches long by one in diameter; when fully ripe, the length is from six to eight inches, by an inch and a half in diameter, channelled lengthwise. Internally the fruit is separated by membranes, into eight longitudinal divisions, filled with an innumerable quantity of small seeds, containing a sweet greenish pulp. The fruit is fit for eating only when green, when it is generally employed in ragouts; to which it communicates a most delicious flavour. Besides the use of the *bamia* on the table, it is valuable in medicine; for it is emollient, resolute, and pectoral. A decoction of the leaves is singularly useful in cases of ophthalmia, a com-

plaint too frequent in certain hot countries.* The *onagra*, too much neglected in other countries, is of great value to the Montenegrines, who eat the leaves as we do spinage, and the roots as we do scorzonera. The culture of this plant would be an excellent resource for cattle; for the crop is plentiful, and it grows in soils and situations unfit for more valuable objects of culture.

From what has been said, it will appear that husbandry is not far advanced in the Montenegro; for the whole productions are scarcely sufficient for six months' subsistence. Nature however is not niggardly in her compensation for vegetable deficiencies. The mountains, the forests, swarm with small game of every description, deer and goats. The lakes and rivers abound in excellent fish, among which are distinguished the trout, one of the most delicate of its kind in Europe.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Fruit.—Garden Vegetables.—Flowers.—Forests.—Extraordinary Vegetation.

IN the Montenegro and the adjacent districts, to the northward along the Adriatic, apples, pears, plumbs, cornel-berries, wild-cherries, are found in great abundance; and with them various kinds of *liqueur* are formed. With a particular kind of small cherry, both red and black, is made the famous *marasquin* of Venice. Service and medlar trees are also frequent. The mulberry prospers in some districts, and the silk-worm might be reared to great advantage; but a few only are kept for amusement-sake, and the fruit goes to the table. On southern exposures and along the coast grow the *arbutus*, or strawberry-tree, and the *ceratonia* or *silqua-dulcis*, called in Spain *garrofa*, in France *caroube*, and in England *locust-tree* or *sweet-pod*. It is also called *St. John's Bread*, as having been a part of the Baptist's food in the wilderness. If the

* The *bamia* is not quite so little known as the author seems to suppose. The following brief account of the plant is given by Dr. Hooper, in his "New Medical Dictionary, Lond. 1811."—" *Bamia-moschata*, or *abelmoschus*, *alcea*, *ægyptiaca*, *abelmusk*, *musk-mallow*. The seeds of this plant have the flavour of musk. The plant *hibiscus*, *abelmoschus*, of Linnaeus, is indigenous in Egypt and in many parts of both Indies. The best comes from Martinico. By the Arabians, who call the plant *abelmosch*, the seeds are esteemed cordial, and are mixed with their coffee, to which they impart their fragrance. In England they are used by the perfumers."—[Note of Translator.]

ceratonia be neglected in the south of France, it is because its properties are not generally known. A decoction of the pod is found to be of great service in the hooping and other obstinate and asthmatic coughs; for children accustomed to eat the fruit are seldom if ever afflicted with the hooping-cough. In the Montenegro, as in Italy and Spain, the mules eat the fruit greedily. Thyme, lavender, mint, hyssop, cover the ground under those trees. Sage, myrtle-berry, thrift, heath, wild-thyme, afford plentiful and delicious food for very numerous flocks, the main object of rural attention among the Montenegrines. Along with the *capre*, the amaranth and the broom shoots up the aloe, of the leaves of which, steeped in water, the fibres are wrought into cloth, cord, &c. The laurel, oleander, myrtle, rosemary, besides the beauty of their perpetual verdure, supply a grateful article of fuel. The *clematis*, the honeysuckle, the smilax, spread around their perfume, in union with the mastich-tree, the *agnus-castus*, and the hop. The passion-flower, the convolvulus, and the briony, suspend their rich festoons, with the hart's-tongue and aristolochia, on every humid bank. The buck-thorn, the spurge-flax, the raspberry-tree, shield the gentian, the humble *cyclamen*, the *alkekengi*, and the periwinkle. In vain, however, even among their kindred shrubs, do you look for the gooseberry or the black currants, neither of which are known by the Montenegrines. Wild asparagus is eaten plentifully, as also a species of convolvulus; and the country is famous for its pine-strawberries, which are of an uncommon size, a beautiful scarlet and a delicious flavour. The *amaryllis* and *asphodel*, and a number of bulbous flowers, adorn the fields.

The forests of the Montenegro may be divided into three kinds. The most elevated situations produce pine, larch, cypress, evergreen, oak, yew, box, juniper, holly, fir, &c. Lower down on the mountains are found beech, horn-beam, ash, chestnut, oak, maple, plane, service, walnut, lime, &c. which arrive at a prodigious size. The deep bottoms and vallies are clothed with aspen, willow, alder, hazel, poplar, birch, elder, &c. But this mode of division is not so distinctive as that each portion may not exhibit productions of the other portions, sometimes in considerable quantities. From the great variety of trees and shrubs on the Montenegrine mountains, proceeds the great abundance of honey in the country, which being of an excellent flavour and consistency, furnishes a valuable article of trade. In mentioning the composition of the forests, it must be understood that the trees and shrubs are all the production of nature; for art has never yet been called in to aid her operations in their propagation. I had collected the seeds of thirty-

two plants, all different from any which I had ever before seen in other parts of Europe, with the view of cultivating them in my garden at Cattaro; but my unexpected departure for the army, before the proper season for committing them to the ground, frustrated my project.

In the lowest tracts of the Montenegro, particularly in the southern parts, vegetation proceeds with inconceivable rapidity and vigour. In the course of a single night, in the proper time of the year, a striking alteration appears on the face of the garden. When I was commandant in Castel-Nuovo, a pink grew in my garden nearly twelve inches in circumference. It belonged to the family of the white dianthus or pink, a natural production of Corfu, an island in high repute for productions of that kind. I was also assured by persons of Cattaro, that they had raised carnations fifteen inches round. A proof this, that since the days of the younger Aristotle and Propertius, no change has taken place in the soil or the climate of these regions.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Commerce of the Montenegrines.

COMMERCE is the younger but the favourite sister of agriculture: what the elder can spare of her productions, the younger transports and exchanges for other commodities of utility or accommodation. In the course of my inquiries respecting the commerce of his country, the vladika expatiated with much warmth, and with an extension of ideas on the subject which surprised me. The result of the whole was the energetic exclamation, "when shall I behold the seas, or rather the commerce of the world set at liberty!"

The Montenegro possess, in proportion to its extent, little ground brought into cultivation. It possesses neither manufactures, nor any other means of furnishing articles of exchange with other countries. Exportation, and consequently importation, are very limited. Yet the people are in general well clothed and fed, and few of them do not possess some little store of money, the produce of their economy. No beggar, no person in rags, is ever seen in the country; for every man enjoys complete liberty to transact his mercantile affairs without restraint. The principal trade and wealth of the country arise from the numerous flocks of sheep. From the port of Cattaro, the Montenegrines export annually, at the lowest estimation, 115,000 sheep, and 20,000 goats. The whole are carried to

Venice, not only for the consumption of the town and its vicinity, but for the use of the shipping. The meat, when salted and fit for use, called *castradina*, weighs above 3,600,000 pounds. When duly prepared, the meat may be kept in good condition a considerable time. The salting begins in September; but the meat prepared later in the year is always to be preferred. Considerable quantities of wool, hides, and tallow, are also exported to the adjoining district of Cattaro, or beyond sea. Shipmasters lay in about 600,000 pounds of the Montenegro cheese, which although by no means rich, is of a good quality, in consequence of a management, which is kept secret, and which I in vain attempted to discover. The rivers Schinizza and Ricovezernovich swarm with fish of many kinds, which mount up from the great lake of Scutari on the southern frontier. A few oxen and mules are also sold out of the country. Besides this kind of wholesale traffic, a daily business in small articles brings in no small profit. These are fire-wood, charcoal, fruit, maize, honey, wax, calves, lambs, butter, new cheese, eggs, game of all kinds, prodigious numbers of fowls and birds of various sorts, vegetables for the table, among which the potatoes and the cabbages are of extraordinary size, French-beans, white-pease, fresh and dry, onions, garlick, shallot, &c. The Montenegrines trade with several towns on the coast, as far northwards as Ragusa; and to the interior countries of Morlachia and Herzegovina. In times of peace they also resort to the markets of Xabiak, one of the most considerable of Turkish Albania.

The women are specially charged with the business of the market of Cattaro, whither they carry loads, which a stout French peasant could scarcely carry for an hour together; and with their enormous burthens they descend their steep and rugged mountains, with astonishing agility. What is most curious is to see those women arrive at the bottom of the mountain, on the one hand bending under their load, and on the other driving five or six mules loaded with goods for the market. At certain steep passes of the rocks, the women lay hold of the tail of the hindmost mule in the string, and twist it round their arm; holding themselves stiff, they bend backwards, and resign themselves to the action of the mule, who, being trained to the operation, conveys his mistress in safety to the bottom of the descent. Were the mechanic arts farther advanced in the country, the full-grown forests would be of most important advantage; by means of roads opened to the coast, or to the rivers which discharge themselves into the lake of Scutari. But to avail themselves of this last opening, it would be requisite to maintain peace and good-understanding

with the Turks of the vicinity. Nothing however of this kind is done; and it is lamentable to behold a race of men, adapted by nature for every sort of labour, abandoned to a life of absolute idleness, and devoid of every view and project of utility, beyond the gratification of their daily indispensable necessities. The money circulating in the Montenegro, consists of Venetian sequins, Turkish and Ragusa piastres.

In their mercantile transactions, the Montenegrines display the greatest candour and good-faith; nor will they ever take advantage of any circumstance to infringe or delay the performance of their engagements. With a stranger they are, if possible, more punctiliously correct in their dealings than with one another. As they cannot write, their bargains are ratified by laying one hand on the breast, and giving the other to the contracting party.

During the misunderstanding between them and us, many Montenegrines, indebted to the people of Cattaro and the neighbourhood, embraced various ingenious modes of fulfilling their engagements at the due times. More than once they have been known to give notice by a messenger, who passed by the most dangerous paths through the mountains, to their creditors below, to be ready at a certain day and hour to observe their appearance on some hill. There the Montenegrine, exhibiting a purse or some settled signal, has deposited the money on the spot; which has been found by the creditor without the least deficiency. A peculiar kind of barter is carried on between the Montenegrines and the neighbouring tribes who inhabit the coast. In the summer, when the pastures on the coast are burnt up, the flocks are received in the fresh grounds of the mountains; and in winter, the Montenegrine flocks are sent down to the warm vallies and plains on the Adriatic. From this interchange, travellers have concluded that the mountaineers were compelled by superior force to feed the cattle of the plains.

It is with regret that I mention another species of commerce carried on by the Montenegrines, of a nature highly to be reprobated. Being constant and irreconcilable enemies of the Turks; to do them the greatest possible injury is the invariable object of the schemes of the mountaineers. In their expeditions to carry off the Turkish cattle or other moveable property, they proceed in several strong parties. Pretending attacks on various points at the same time, they appear in earnest on one only; to defend which, the Turks draw off their forces from the others. When the Montenegrines find this to be the case, their out-parties rush forward, secure the cattle, and drive them up into the mountains, through narrow passes,

where a few men are sufficient to oppose numerous bodies. Similar inroads have occasionally been made into the province of Cattaro, since the French occupied it; but the inhabitants, supported by their allies, have successfully repelled all their attacks. In order to dispose of their plunder, of which the acquisition is accounted meritorious, the mountaineers freight vessels of the description called by the Italians *trabaccolo*, and dispatch them to different ports of the Adriatic. That such transactions should be conducted under a Christian government, in the centre of Europe, in the nineteenth century, can scarcely be credited. When however we consider that against such practices no law, no public opinion exists, that such acts should be frequent need not surprise us. Among the Montenegrines it is a fixed maxim that to injure a Turk is not only permitted but commendable. Their sole care is to secure their plunder from the Mahometan pirates, who follow a similar trade. Never would it enter the head of the priest to refuse absolution to his penitent for having robbed a Turk. He is much more likely to hold out his hand to receive a share of the spoil. That the Montenegrines are far from regarding their predatory incursions and piracies against the Turks to be criminal or illicit in time of peace, is proved by the scrupulous punctuality with which, even during hostilities, as was before stated, they fulfil every commercial or pecuniary engagement with their neighbours.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Sciences and Arts.—Language.—Poetry.—Trades.—Professions.

ON all these topics among the Montenegrines very little can be said. Science and art can prosper only under the protection of established laws, especially during peace, which procures tranquillity to the mind, time to the researches of study, and scope for the elasticity of genius. Languages being the agent of thought, as alphabetic characters are its visible emblems, no one will deny their influence on the progress of civilization. But these principles, true in general, are in some sort in contradiction with the Illyrian language. Partaking in some measure of the Greek, it is, however, formed on the Slavonian of the ancient Sarmatia. Rich, but laconic, energetic but harmonious, it is equally adapted to express the feelings and ideas of both sexes. It is, and must be deficient in terms adapted to objects of science and art, matters themselves

little known in the country. On all those subjects, notwithstanding their vicinity to Greece, the Montenegrines are lamentably ignorant; nor are the modern Greeks themselves much before them on various subjects. The greater portion of the people of the Montenegro can neither count, write, nor read. Their accounts are kept by notches on a stick or tally. At the small end are marked the units and tens; at the other the hundreds and thousands. They are ignorant of the history, not of the world in general only, or of the neighbouring states, but even of their own country. With all this ignorance the Montenegrines will still talk to you of ancient images or idols, of remains of antique monuments, of hidden treasures in caverns, which the guides take special care to keep from the eyes of the few strangers who visit their country. Notwithstanding all these assertions, almost the only antiquity they can point out consists of the remains of a Roman road. But this ignorance is only the effect of a long lethargy; the people still exist, and they require only to be roused to action by a proper education. This, however, is woefully wanting. No school, public or private; no trade of the artizan, exists. The implements of agriculture are of the rudest construction; nor do we hear of a single individual in the country who attempts to second the laudable schemes of improvement proposed by the vladika. The cloth made by the Montenegrines, all of the coarsest sort, is made of goat's hair, without the requisite preparation; hence their clothing is rude, clumsy, heavy, and inconvenient. Even among the females the art of spinning is extremely imperfect; the first stick they find serves for a spindle. The baker, the butcher, the carpenter, the smith, are unknown. Every mountaineer makes his own coat and shoes; the latter out of the goat-skin, prepared with only a little salt. In fine, every man labours for himself alone. With respect to the finer arts, I have nothing to say. Their painting is confined to figures of the Virgin and saints; to representations of miracles, &c. of the most extravagant description; the whole executed on boards in the most discordant and ridiculous manner.

Of written musical notes the Montenegrines have no knowledge; although some portions of their liturgy be so expressed, in the books employed by the priests, who alone can use them. The country songs are all therefore transmitted from generation to generation by the ear alone. Much, however, as they are behind other nations it cannot be doubted that the Montenegrines have within these few years past made considerable progress, under their present bishop, or vladika, Peter Petrovich. Whether that progress was retarded by their priests, or by

their own aversion to application while at home, certain it is that those individuals who have travelled or settled in foreign countries have never failed to distinguish themselves by their talents and acquirements. The mountaineers have all a natural taste for singing, whatever be their aptness for it: their mountains and vallies continually resound with their song. The singer is usually accompanied by his own hand, or by that of some other on the monochord, or the bag-pipe. Some perform with tolerable skill on Pan's pipe. Ignorant of all rule of art, the Montenegrines, nevertheless, possess their poetry. Their compositions turn upon love, or upon the grand phenomena of nature; the meteors of the heavens, the shakings of the earth, or the devastation of the tempest. Their ideas and expressions are highly figurative, the natural fruit of the state of society, and of the sublimely impressive objects among which they live. They are by nature eloquent, as all must be convinced who are present in their political consultations, in cases which affect their character, or in determining and arranging their military expeditions. Having among them neither authors nor compilers, the critic is unknown; nor are they exposed to the mortification of seeing their country subjected to the decisions of certain individuals, who, doing violence to their own convictions, condemn without mercy, all discourses and sentiments which oppose the system of persons in power. The whole literary stock of the Montenegrines consists of a single volume; a history of the country, written in 1754, by one Vassilia, coadjutor of the Bishop Sava Petrovich, printed in Russia, and dedicated to the grand-chancellor Count Woronzow. But in that vain-glorious indigested production the reader finds only an absurd collection of old stories, apparently without foundation, of imaginary occurrences, pretended instances of magnificence and splendour among the Montenegrines. What has most the air of truth, or at least of probability, relates to signal exploits of intrepidity and valour, performed by various inhabitants of the mountains.

During my residence with the vladika in the monastery of Cettigné, I received every attention on the part of the monks of the order of St. Basil, founded in the fourth century, which predominates in the Greek church. Their contest among themselves was, who should contribute the most to my information, by pointing out the caverns, cascades, points of prospect, and other curious features of their romantic country.

The people of Ragusa have a powerful influence on the manners and opinions of the Montenegrines and other nations in the vicinity of the Adriatic. The Ragusans deserve to possess a territory much more considerable than that subjected to

their little republic, which abounds in men of information. The Patricians or nobles distinguish themselves by their acquirements in various branches of knowledge. Public education, particularly in the study of the law, is extremely well conducted. The men of rank in the state are educated in a manner very opposite to that adopted in certain other countries, where vanity, conceit, and presumption, seem to be the main objects of cultivation. The clergy of Ragusa are much more devoted to solid and useful, than to specious and sophistical pursuits in literature and science; and to all they add the honourable advantage of maintaining a conduct truly exemplary: on no occasion do they ever interfere with the political affairs of the state. The Ragusans are well-bred, hospitable, and complaisant: they consequently are highly respected by all the surrounding states.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Upper Zenta.—War with Ali, Pasha of Janina.

HAVING fixed my departure from the monastery of Cettigné, I availed myself of my remaining stay with the bishop, to gain some information respecting the country of the Upper Zenta, closely connected in every way with the Montenegro. The Upper Zenta, according to the statement of the Montenegrines, is bounded by the Castratico, which falls into the lake Othi, by the chain of mountains called Mount Vistori, and thence northward as far as Drobgnacia, where the river Moraka, in the whole length of its course, as far as to the lake of Scutari, divides it from the old territory of the Montenegro. The Montenegrines pretend, that to their state belongs not only the Upper Zenta but the Lower, which extends to the gates of Scutari. In tracing their claim to those countries they go back to the close of the fifteenth century, under the family of Czernovich. Of modern titles they recount the exploits of 1785 and 1796, against Mahmoud Busaklia: but they dwell with exultation on the memorable transactions of the 22d of September 1798, against Ali, Pasha of Janina. On that day seventy thousand of Ali's troops were completely routed by a few thousand Montenegrines. Twenty-six thousand Mussulmans fell in the action, and such numbers fled in all directions, that on the following morning Ali could muster only four thousand in all. To complete his disgrace the victorious Montenegrines pursued him into the territory of his own Albania. This affair,

of the utmost importance in itself, was conducted with so much circumspection, activity, and ability as to constitute a memorable epoch in the history of a resolute people contending for their independence.

Ali, Pasha of Janina in Albania, the ancient Epirus, is famous over all the East. By his political management his wealth, his numerous forces, he has carried his original power and authority to an inconceivable extent. Become master of Macedonia, Epirus, and Albania, his progress excited serious alarm in the seraglio of Constantinople itself. Deeming it hazardous to irritate the man whom they were unable to subdue, the divan attempted to secure at least his forbearance by the most gratifying marks of distinction: he was even confirmed in the possession of all his acquisitions. Ali, in the course of a few years, became the happiest of men, if ever an unprincipled tyrant can be happy: but all his happiness was interrupted by the energy of an obscure tribe, whom he had scarcely deigned to notice. Ali had extended his frontiers northward along the Adriatic to Dalmatia. The Montenegro, a range of lofty mountains, separated the country of the Arnauts, or Albania from Dalmatia and Bosnia. The population of that mountainous tract scarcely amounted to sixty thousand souls. The men, tall and robust, were as rude as their mountains. Like the inhabitants of all similar countries, they were unconquerably attached to freedom. They had neither towns nor villages; every Montenegrine family lived by itself in the midst of its possessions. Invincible when an attempt is made to bring them within the ordinary rules of social life, they blindly submit to the guidance of their priests: such were the people whom Ali proposed to subdue. Deputies had been sent to Janina to complain of his encroachments, and to declare their determination in future to defend their territory by arms. Dissembling his indignation at their spirited deportment, Ali promised to issue an order to his officers to abstain from attacks on the Montenegro; and the deputies returned with joy to their native land. The order was indeed publicly issued; but secret instructions directed his commanders, under different pretexts, gradually to approach the entrance into the Montenegro. One man alone, among the confiding mountaineers, penetrated the plans of Ali, and resolved to save his country, or perish in the attempt. This man was no other than the Bishop of Montenegro, the noble-minded vladika. His repeated journies and long residence in foreign countries had matured the valuable qualities bestowed on him by nature. By his travels and his assiduity in study he had made very considerable progress in languages and science. His first step was to convince the Mon-

tenegrines that life without freedom was unworthy of men ; and that to maintain their freedom no sacrifice ought to be refused. His eloquence, supported by the sacredness of his character, vanquished all opposition ; and a sort of theocracy was established, of which the clergy were intrusted with the administration.— Habituated from their infancy to the use of arms, the Montenegrines, like the Turks, are never seen unarmed. The Austrians were kept in continual agitation by an attempt to deprive of their arms, the people of Istria, Dalmatia, and Albania. The able prelate took a very different course : he by every method encouraged the national taste for military exercises. He in person, fully armed, presided at those exercises : he led his people to the field, instructed them in the war of posts, in ambuscades, and surprizes against an enemy ; showed them how with rapidity to support one another in attacks on their detached positions. Whilst the people were occupied in this way mortars, bombs, and other stores, arrived in secret at Castel-Nuovo, in the bay of Cattaro, and were transmitted on mules into the interior of the country. Some discussion arose with Mustapha, the Turkish commandant, respecting the limits of the two countries. This furnished the first opportunity for the display of the valour and newly-acquired discipline of the mountaineers. Suffering the Turks to advance into the heart of the mountains, they attacked them in front, in flank, and in rear. Scarcely a man escaped ; not a few fell by the hands of the bishop himself. Devouring in secret his mortification, Ali disavowed the attack of Mustapha, and professed his desire to live on good terms with his neighbours of the Montenegro. He required them only to furnish him annually about 5,000*l.* ; a sum which he well knew it was impossible for the Montenegrines to raise. Ali in this proposal seemed to have forgotten his usual dexterity ; for the mountaineers, enraged at his conduct, instantly adopted the advice of their patriot bishop, and publicly declared themselves a free and independent people. When this was known Ali, in order to discover what was doing, dispatched agents to receive his tribute, who were indebted to the influence of the bishop for being permitted to return in safety. A new force was sent against the mountaineers, who inveigled the Turks among their narrow passes, and utterly defeated them. A third attack being equally unsuccessful, the terrible Ali undertook in person to subdue the heroic Montenegrines ; vowing the most signal vengeance on the Christian dogs for the destruction of the multitudes of true believers. Preceded by the three horse-tails, the emblem of his high office, Ali led his troops in person. The formerly victorious standard of Mahomet adorned his tent. By the prophet

and by his beard he swore to inflict the most horrible tortures on every Montenegrine. The 22d of September 1798 was to decide their fate. The Turks push forward among the fastnesses of the mountains, never to return; fresh troops advance to the same ground, but meet with the same fate. From post to post the bishop hastened; the crucifix in one hand and the sword in the other. In execution of his plan he abandoned his first line of posts, and retired behind intrenchments thrown up at the head of a valley, broad but deep. Giving into the snare, the Turks push blindly forward. Arriving on confined rugged ground, where the cavalry could no longer act, Ali dismounted his men and then ordered a general and rapid assault. They had not advanced far when a tremendous explosion in the midst of the army filled them with consternation and dismay. One of the mines prepared by the bishop had exploded; and the ground yawning in many places, swallowed up the devoted mussulmans. Rushing out from their concealments, the Montenegrines inflicted horrible slaughter on the Turks, overwhelmed with terror. Ali himself who, posted on an eminence, beheld the disaster, turned round and made all haste back into Albania with the wrecks of his vast army. Thus was a most signal defeat of seventy thousand Turkish troops inflicted by a few thousand mountaineers, without generals, without artillery properly so called, without allies, or any of those resources by which great nations are now rendered formidable in war.

Become absolutely independent from that memorable day, the bishop, to secure that independence, solicited the protection of the court of Petersburg; and by the Russian influence in Constantinople, that independence was formally acknowledged by the Porte. From that day the name alone of the bishop has always been sufficient to overawe the neighbouring Turks, and to restrain their customary depredations in the Montenegro.

Ali Pasha having acted a very important part in the concerns of the Montenegro, it is necessary to notice a few incidents in which he is concerned in the present time. In one of the Paris newspapers of the 22d May of this year, 1820, is a letter from Constantinople, dated the 12th of the preceding April, containing the following statements:—"Among the remarkable occurrences of this place, ought to be mentioned the preparations against Ali, Pasha of Janina, commonly called *Depelenli*, as being a native of *Depelen*, in the district of Avlon or Valona, on the Adriatic. His son has been removed from the important government of Lepanto, conferred on Baba Pasha, a man of high military talents. Mehemet Bey, whose father was put to death by Ali, is appointed to the command of Durazzo, a

town and port of consequence in Albania; a severe stroke on the ambitious projects of Ali. Another Pasha, Suleiman, no friend of Ali, is also placed in his vicinity; and Mustapha, also an opponent of Ali, has been favourably confirmed in his government of Scutari, long the theatre of Ali's intrigues. Besides these measures by land, a squadron is now fitting out to act against Ali by sea." A letter of the 15th of the same month bears that Ali, Pasha of Janina, had been summoned to Constantinople, to render an account of his conduct for many years past. But he has now, it is reported, thrown away the mask, and declared himself King of Epirus; he has, consequently, refused to obey the order of the court of Constantinople. It is also said that, with the view of strengthening his party, he has embraced the Greek religion, and been baptized. In this resolution of the Pasha of Janina, we can see nothing extraordinary: it is perfectly conformable to his general character. To repair to Constantinople, would be to go to his destruction: he has boldly chosen rather to declare himself in open revolt. And why should not Ali become a king? Does not success authorize the abuse of power? Does not success determine who is the rebel? If he succeed in establishing his independence; if his son follow him in the same independence, and transmit his usurped dominion to his posterity; have we not here an established race of sovereigns, a dynasty, just as respectable as any other, when a few centuries have passed away? Can we trace back any to a more justifiable origin? When time has effaced every impurity in the blood, may not the august descendants of Ali quote their legitimacy, their appointment by the will of heaven itself? May not ministers, and even prelates (Greek bishops that is to say,) be found to proclaim the justice of their pretensions?

To give my readers a specimen of the character of Ali Pasha, I think the following anecdote may be sufficient. Of its authenticity no doubt can be entertained; for Ali himself often relates the story; and it comes to me from an ear-witness, a Frenchman long resident at his court.

In the summer of 1805, the Ottoman Porte, tired out with the audacious conduct of Ali, despatched to a town in his neighbourhood, a person of confidence and of high rank, with the title of Pasha and a numerous suite. His ostensible mission was to inspect and report on the state of the district; but by no means to give any umbrage to Ali. His secret instructions however were to visit Ali, and to endeavour to insinuate himself into his good opinion. Then seizing the proper opportunity, the envoy was to present to Ali the fatal bow-string, which no true Mussulman ever refused from the hand of the vicar of the prophet, and to strangle him himself, without further ceremony.

Ali, by his spies in the seraglio itself, was informed of all the project before the envoy left Constantinople. No sooner was the envoy arrived at his post than Ali overwhelmed him with civilities, paid him even a visit of ceremony, staid a night or two in his new residence, (armed however himself, and his faithful attendants, to the teeth) and invited him to return the visit in the spirit of friendship, and good neighbourhood. That the new friends might enjoy themselves free from the restraints of business or state, Ali appointed for the place of meeting a pleasant country-house, on the shore of the gulf of Venice, where he was in the habit of giving entertainments to the ladies of his harem. The envoy, overcome by his proceedings, obeyed the summons, and every art was employed to make the time pass agreeably. In the evening Ali's people, who were in the secret, attached themselves to the attendants of the envoy. Leading them round the garden and grounds, the attendants were insensibly separated from each other. A signal was given, and each man was suddenly seized and disarmed by Ali's people. Binding them hand and foot, they were conveyed to a boat on the shore. Carrying them out to sea, stones were fastened round their necks and all thrown overboard. Whilst this was known to be going forward, Ali, who had never taken his eye off his guest, conducted him gently through the several apartments, displaying the furniture, ornaments, &c. Arriving at last at a cabinet, in a remote quarter of the house, the doors were instantly shut, and six men with drawn sabres seized the unlucky envoy, whom they disarmed, bound, and set down on a sofa. Seating himself beside him, "Come come Pasha," said Ali, "show us the cord you have brought for me, and slip it round your own neck. Your visit is now over. Make haste; I have no time to lose."

Caught in his own snare, the poor Pasha solicited a moment's delay, but in vain; and at a signal from Ali, the envoy's head bounded on the floor. The head, placed in a bag, was despatched to Constantinople to the grand-vizir, who since that day has sent no more cords to the mighty Ali.

Should Ali be successful in his present contest he will take his place among the great men of the world; every trumpet of fame will be occupied in announcing his glory, even his virtues. Such praise costs little to writers from Homer down to our own days. But if Ali be vanquished; he will then be a villain, a monster of impiety and wickedness. Let us then wait for the result of the contest, and let us revere as we ought the infallibility of the judgments of men. But to return.—Profoundly versed in human Nature, after the victory over Ali on the 22d September, 1798, the bishop of the Montenegro erected, on all the works of defence thrown up on the frontiers against the

enemy, standards containing the date of the action, and the following inscriptions, "We swear to die around this standard, rather than suffer an enemy to penetrate by this path into our country."—"Glory and honour to our fellow-citizens: love and assistance to all neighbours who show themselves our friends." The Zentines, having often occasion to pass that way, struck with the memorials and their cause, have ever since, particularly being of the same system of Christianity, made common cause against the aggressions of the Turks, with the Montenegrines, whom they regard as their natural allies and defenders.

CHAPTER XXX.

Departure from the Residence of the Vladika.

AT last I was constrained to take my leave of this celebrated bishop, from whom I cannot withhold my testimony of respect and veneration. He carried his politeness, I may rather say his regard for me, so far as to convoy me, together with the body of his clergy, for a good mile from the monastery. My route led along the course of the Seglianta, crossing the Ricovezernovich, a river at the foot of Mount Czaravizza. In descending from the icy region, in the heart of the mountains, into the climate of the fair and fruitful Albania, the appearance of objects on every side is gradually, but materially changed. The course of the Seglianta, between gentle hills finely wooded, and pastures in constant verdure, presents thousands of cattle spread over the broad fields, enlivened by the sound of the flute or the bag-pipe, and the song of the fortunate peasant. We arrived at Agna, a little town finely situated near the summit of Mount Gliubotna, where it commands the valley of Cettigné; seated in the midst of gardens, orchards, and inclosures reserved for the cattle in the winter. Husbandry seems to be negligently performed, and the people indolent and inactive; yet both men and women are remarkably handsome. In this short journey we experienced the good effects of the vladika's kind attention; every where we were received with marked respect. Priests, chiefs, women, children pressed round us to evince their regard for the worthy vladika: every where we found beds prepared for us, covered with pieces of new linen. We were lighted with candles or lamps, sent forward by the bishop, for the nearest four villages; and brought from the town of Budua, on the coast, for

the four more distant. Feasts were provided, butter was churned, the environs were scoured for game, to entertain us. Leaving Agna, we traversed a spacious valley and mounted Glavizza, to reach Ochinichi, by very bad roads. Here the climate was sensibly milder, and the eye was delighted with hill and dale, with groupings of oak and fir and old cypress crowning the summits. The valley was filled with pasturage, intermingled with vines, olives, pomegranates, myrtles, oleanders, &c. The surrounding district of Czerniska contains mines of iron, gold, silver, and sulphur. The bottom of the valley is calcareous, and from time to time you meet large masses of marble and grey granite. Approaching Mount Resvich, you see two deep caverns, containing a vast quantity of fragments of talc. Several small eminences are covered with flints. The inhabitants, for various disorders, make much use of the flesh and oil of snakes and serpents, which are not poisonous, and are easily tamed. All along the road, madder and other dyeing plants grow abundantly. Generally speaking, the territory of Montenegro furnishes plentiful stores for the admirers of botany; but all may be considered to be wasted on the present race of inhabitants. In Czerniska are found earth and water evidently impregnated with blue vitriol, indicating the presence of copper. I cannot quit the territory of Czerniska without noticing a tree, the most interesting of all which, in my different journeys in various countries, I have ever seen: by its stature, its foliage, and its blossoms, this tree is particularly calculated to attract attention: it appears to me to belong to the class of *acacia*; but I have named it *mimosa arborescens*, because it has all the characters of the sensitive plant. Not, however, that the same effects are produced when it is touched; but, like the sensitive, it is effected by the absence of the sun, even when suddenly obscured by a cloud, and by his re-appearance above the horizon in the morning. The stem of the tree is of an elegant form; the bark grey, and smooth as parchment; the leaves like those of the *acacia*, arranged on a common pedicle in the same order; the flowers, of a delicate rose-colour and about the size of an anemone, are so numerous as to give to the tree, in blossom, the appearance of an immense nosegay. The seed, which resembles a very thin lentil, is inclosed in a pod an inch and-a-half long by an inch broad: it is remarkable that this tree thrives only in a western exposure. In the vicinity of Grabogliani and Dobarcelli, two of the most populous and wealthy villages of the valley of Czerniska, is produced a kind of malmsey wine, not inferior to that of Breimo, so much esteemed in Ragusa.

During my stay in the village Ochinichi, I was fortunate

enough to save the lives of three deserters from the French service, and by that act to gratify a worthy family in whose house I lodged. Being at supper one evening, the master of the house, who was the papas or parish-priest, and his family were evidently in great anxiety on some subject, which they seemed unwilling to communicate to me; and I was too well acquainted with the manners of the Montenegrines, naturally very suspicious of strangers, to press them to open their minds to me. After supper; "Speak to him," says the papas' wife in a low voice.—"No," answers the eldest son, "you had best do it yourself."—"I dare not."—"Good heaven!" exclaimed the daughter, "they are such fine fellows—he has not the look of an ill-natured man—speak lower—if he were once to know." It was no longer possible to affect ignorance of what was passing around me; and I observed that they were not yet quite my friends, since they abstained from informing me of the cause of their uneasiness. "No, no," said the good papas, "that is not the reason;" and taking me aside with his wife and eldest son, "it is in your power," said he, "to restore life and character to three unfortunate brothers. I know the severity of your discipline, and I tremble in entrusting you with the secret.—Well then, my friend; in my parish are at this moment three young men, Croates from our neighbourhood, who have deserted from your service. They dare not return home; nor dare they go back to their regiment, which they now deeply lament that they quitted."—"If they sincerely repent," said I, "let them come to me; I will protect them and take them along with me." Reflecting on what I had undertaken to perform, my looks again alarmed my worthy landlord. To comfort them all—"Absolute silence on this business," resumed I, "must be preserved. The secret service of the province is intrusted to me: by pretending that I had employed these unhappy brothers, to procure for me information on several subjects in the country, I can account for their being absent without customary leave. By this I shall save the lives of three useful men, who have probably erred in a moment of thoughtlessness."—"Run, my son," cried the papas, wiping off the tears of joy, "the poor fellows will now sleep in peace." The three Croates, throwing themselves at my feet, confessed their fault and implored my protection. Reprimanding them severely for their misconduct, I directed them to retire from the village, and not to appear there until they should be ordered. At my departure I took them with me to Cattaro, and the matter was never more mentioned.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Stagnevich.—Return to Cattaro.

SIX days after the affair of the deserters, having concluded my observations on the valley of Czerniska, we continued our journey to Stagnevich, where we arrived late in the evening. Our walk (for all my travels in the Montenegro were performed on foot) from the valley was extremely laborious, over Monte Nudo and Monte Orlich. The route we followed, which was the most direct, was traversed by a succession of deep ravines and lofty precipices, and the path led through a continued range of bushes and brushwood. Proceeding in this manner for three days, we reached the monastery of Stagnevich, exhausted with fatigue; but a good supper, and a good bed, with the kind attentions of the monks, soon revived us.

Stagnevich was originally only an advanced post, constructed by the Venetians, on the south slope of the Mountain Giurgevo-Idrido, on the limits of the district of Cattaro: there they had a small garrison, to prevent or check the incursions of the Montenegrines themselves. When the Venetian republic was overthrown by the French armies in 1797, the Montenegrines took possession of the fort. Some years ago the vladika erected, at the same place, a building for his own occasional residence, of which the several stories are vaulted, and in it placed a few monks: before that time his sole residence was at Cettigné, where his predecessors had lived, and where he still passes the summer, but in winter he resides at Stagnevich. Near the walls of this monastery spring out two fountains, which, a little lower down, form two little rivers; the Dremostizza on the right, which falls into the bay of Jassy, below Budua, on the Adriatic; and the Belastizza on the left, which opens into the bay of Budua itself, distant asunder nearly a mile. The monastery of Stagnevich has more the air of a fortress than of the humble abode of Cenobites. From it, when any misunderstanding arises with Cattaro, parties of Montenegrines are detached in different directions, to intercept correspondence, to cut off communication, and even to seize and occupy small advanced-posts. Before the Venetians had ceded the position to the Montenegrines, the latter had thrown up a small dry-stone post, within musket-shot of the monastery. The practice of rendering convents fit to serve also as fortresses, is quite common in Greece and in the east. It is done by both Christians and Mahometans. The celebrated monastery on Mount Carmel, in the Holy Land, is also a most important fortress, com-

manding the whole country round, and always well furnished with military stores. When I was at Stagnevich, the monastery contained but three monks, all men of much information. Father Juletich devoted himself successfully to the study of Natural History.

The environs of the monastery afford nothing attractive, for it is erected on a naked spot, containing only a few patches of garden among the rocks: but the view from it is magnificent, stretching over the coast and the Adriatic, as far as the sight can pierce.

Having refreshed ourselves for some days at Stagnevich, we continued our journey towards Cattaro. Descending Mount Coloxum, we halted at the fountain Tipoglievar, within three miles of the frontier of Cattaro. This is the second spring of potable mineral water which I saw: the water is extremely limpid and light, without taste or smell, cold and promptly laxative. The multitude of mineral springs, scattered over the country, demonstrate the internal riches of the Montenegro. Vestiges of ancient excavations are seen in various quarters; but their date is now unknown; nor is it easy to discover the epoch when the inhabitants of that tract were sufficiently civilized to carry on such operations. The vestiges may perhaps indicate the works of the Romans, who, we know, drew from Dalmatia valuable mineral substances.

We arrived early in Miraz, the place where the second treaty with the Montenegrines was arranged in 1812, there to recruit our dress as well as our persons, before we entered Cattaro. Miraz is the nearest place to the boundary of the province: the environs are not unpleasant, and agriculture is productive. The inhabitants, in consequence of their daily dealings with the people of Cattaro, are less rough and unpolished than their country-folks of more remote situations.

Upon a review of my journey, compared with the map, it will be evident that the general inclination of the Montenegro is from west to east; and that that of the two Zentas is from east to west: also, that all the brooks and rivers discharge their waters into one common bason, the lake of Scutari, the *Labeatis Palus* of the ancients. The Montenegro, considered in its totality, is a mass of mountains, in many quarters inaccessible; intersected by prodigious precipices, which the eye is unable to fathom; by furious torrents, which sweep before them whatever opposes their course: thus changing the face of nature, and at last throwing themselves headlong into deep and dark gulfs amid the mountains. Hence, in the highest ranges, especially in that which impends over the gulf of Cattaro, scenes romantic and awful beyond description, are

frequently discovered. Those profound gulfs communicate with internal reservoirs, to supply the numerous springs which eject their water with incredible force, along the margin and even in the midst of the channel or bay of Cattaro. Of those springs, the most considerable rise at the foot of the mountain, which, ascending gently from the edge of the sea to the lofty summit, seems to preserve the same inclination in sinking under the surface, to a great and unknown depth. The quantity of water collected in the bowels of the mountains must be prodigious; for even after a continuation of dry weather, for five or six months, the springs on the shore announce no deficiency of supply. But this observation is not confined in its application to the Montenegro; similar facts are ascertained in many other places of the mountains which bound the Adriatic to the northward. Another circumstance, seldom if ever observed in other countries, draws the attention of the visitor of the Montenegro: in the midst of the most steady season of the year, of the finest day, of the purest and brightest atmosphere, when not a speck of vapour can be discerned on the sea, or in any other quarter of the horizon, on a sudden thunder is heard to roll through the heavens, in a direction towards the centre of the mountains. The repercussion from the multiplied inflexions of the mountains without doubt produces the awful sounds we hear; but whence comes the original cause in an atmosphere such as has been described? Were it more commodious to penetrate into the Montenegrine country; could men of science reside in it for some length of time in security; were it possible to conquer the aversion of the people to new faces and new modes of life; a most interesting field would be laid open to the naturalist, and many advantages might result to the people themselves. But neither the people nor the clergy would encourage such proceedings. The latter would rather tremble themselves during a thunder-storm than hazard the loss of a few piastres, drawn from their simple flocks, for imaginary services in averting the tempest, or guarding them from its effects. Five or six hours after one of these dreadful explosions, the water rushes out of the springs in the bay of Cattaro with prodigious force. The contest between the salt-water and the fresh, bursting up in the midst of it, is evident and interesting. At the same time the basin, at the gate Gordizzio of Cattaro, boils up with the utmost violence: the waters of other springs, of the Glinta particularly, on a level with the surface of the sea, pour out with such force, that the mountain itself seems to shake. The Fiumera, which rises immediately at the foot of the mountain, is of such a body that, at twenty steps from its source, it turns

three mills. During these eruptions, if you lie with your breast on the mountain side, at the distance of sixteen or eighteen yards above the spring, the tremulous motion of the ground is not only sensible but painful. During the thunderstorms, a noted well at Cattaro, usually filled with stones thrown in by children, is at once cleared of its burthen by the water, which springs up two or three feet above the brim. I have myself at those times thrown into the water stones from one gradually up to ten pounds in weight, but not one ever sunk three feet under the surface; at particular times, such is the force of the spring that they never enter the water at all. These curious phenomena have led persons to imagine the ground on which Cattaro is built to be hollow, and that therefore the town is daily exposed to be swallowed up. To strengthen this opinion, the example of Risano, (a town fifteen miles to the northward of Cattaro) formerly *Rhizinium*, from which the bay was called *Sinus Rhizinius*, is adduced. *Rhizinium*, situated on the north-west of the present monastery of Our Lady, was many ages ago overwhelmed by an earthquake. The surviving inhabitants withdrew to Teodo, a fertile tract, the Eden of the province of Cattaro, and there constructed a new city. *Rhizinium* was the residence of the celebrated Queen Teuta, widow of Argon, King of *Illyricum*; the same lady who, whilst to defend herself against attacks by sea, she extended a chain across one of the narrows of the gulf of Cattaro, still retaining the name *delle catene*, (pass of the chains) encouraged her own subjects to push their piratical expeditions to an extraordinary extent. The same lady, in the year of Rome 523, caused to be assassinated the Roman ambassadors, Caius and Lucius Coruncanius, for the boldness with which Caius had discharged the duty of his mission, in warning the queen against her unlawful enterprises. Of the ancient *Rhizinium*, considerable relics are still to be seen: vast remains of an antique fortress, on the side of the hill, seem to shew that it was intended to protect a city of importance, or to be the abode of some person of high distinction; perhaps of the sovereigns of *Illyricum*, of Teuta herself. The general opinion is, that *Rhizinium* was engulfed by an earthquake; but had that been the case, some indenture of the shore would have indicated its position, which is not the fact: nor would the antiquities still discoverable on the ground have now been in existence. It is, therefore, most probable that the city was not overthrown by an earthquake, or by an irruption of the sea, but by some hostile attack, in which it was burnt and destroyed. In support of this notion, it may be mentioned that, among the ruins may be seen a portion of

beautiful mosaic, about thirty-three feet in length, by ten feet in breadth; but the extremities are deeply covered with rubbish. The design is complicated, and the colours, when the pavement is wet, are very distinguishable. It may have belonged to a gallery in the palace, of which one side has been built parallel to the course of the torrent of Risano. Learning that vases, containing a very fine dust, had been found by a peasant labouring in his vineyard, I repaired thither with some friends acquainted with such matters. We saw many fragments of cinerary urns, but none entire: nor were our own researches more successful. The urns were all of the form commonly termed *Etruscan*, of very coarse clay, incrustated with rough reddish grains of sand. The handles were pairs of serpents; the tails ending at a buffalo's head, having an elliptic ring in the muzzle. In the same spot were two funeral stones: a few Roman characters alone remain of the inscriptions, but unintelligible. Other evidences of Roman occupation of the country, are the vestiges of roads in various parts, in some places in tolerable preservation, but fast hastening to destruction, unobserved, unknown by men capable of tracing them for any useful purpose, to ascertain the positions of places once of importance, in a region now in the lowest station of rudeness and ignorance. In two spots on the shore of Risano are visible under the sea the remains of an antique monument, which, from their present position, must have been overthrown by an earthquake, or by the undermining of the sea. Such may doubtless have been the fate of *Rhizinium*; but to the present Cattaro nothing of the kind can possibly happen; for Cattaro is evidently founded on the solid rock, a portion of the grand range of mountains, of which the region of Montenegro is entirely composed.

The whole country rising over the coast of the Adriatic is covered with forest, on the northern exposure of every mountain and hill. Of these the most important parts, namely *Katunska*, *Rieska*, and *Piessivaska*, are clothed, for two-thirds of their height, with timber in its full growth, which might be rendered of vast service to the Montenegrines. But the inhabitants are averse to regular labour; nor does it seem possible to conquer their inveterate hatred to the Turks; otherwise a great portion of the timber might be conveyed by the rivers to the lake of Scutari, and thence by the Boiana to the Adriatic. With no great trouble, the *Schinizza* and the *Ricovezernovich* might be rendered fit to float timber to the lake. In another point of view, the bare rocks, precipices, and ravines, occupy so large a proportion of the country, that little comparatively is left for agricultural operations. The feeble population of the

Montenegro is not therefore a wonder; for the villages are dispersed over the country far asunder, and the communication between them is extremely difficult. It is not, however, by the numbers of a people, nor by the extent of the country they inhabit, that we are to judge of their military talents. Often has a tribe in a remote, an unknown corner of the world, sprung forth from its obscurity, and by its appearance, its energy, its exploits astonished the universe. The only thing wanting is a chief; in applying this remark to the Montenegro, the *parturiunt montes* may perhaps be applied to me. But if some great European power, forming a permanent but voluntary connection with the people of that region, have the address to carry into action the enterprise and intrepidity of that people, the adage may be successfully controverted. In this supposition it will be evident that I turn my eyes towards Russia; especially under such a vladika as the bishop of whom I have spoken. Should the Emperor Alexander ever attempt to fulfil the projects of Catherine II., no where could he find fellow-labourers more ready nor more resolute. Twenty thousand Montenegrines, under leaders of their own nation, but commanded by such a man as Suvarov, would rush down into European Turkey, irresistible as their mountain-torrents. In its progress the stream would be augmented by the accession of 60,000 Greeks, whose ancient hatred of their oppressors slumbers, but will easily be awakened. Then might we look forward to the restoration of liberty, of genius, of the arts, of knowledge, of the antique inhabitancy, in that most interesting portion of the globe. In the present state of Europe; now that knowledge and information on the subjects of the highest importance to society at large are no longer locked up in the bosoms of a few, but pervade and are cherished by persons of all ranks in the principal states; in such a condition of things, it is impossible to believe that a revolution in modern Greece could turn out for the advantage of despotism alone, whether exercised over the bodies or the minds of men. Respect for the rights of nations, of human nature itself, will gradually extinguish the antiquated notions of oppression of every sort. That it is not the mere restlessness of anarchy, the desire of disorder, by which so many important states of Europe are now agitated, is undeniably proved by the universal voice, requesting and demanding regular systems of constitutional law, in which the duties of every member of the society shall be clearly defined and determined. Now about to return to my post, furnished with a stock of new facts and observations, illustrated by remarks and sketches made on the spot, and possessing various valuable or curious seeds, I set out from Miraz about noon, for Cattaro, where the inhabitants, as well

as the garrison, expressed great surprise at my return. For such was their prejudice, (not altogether groundless) against the Montenegrines, that no one expected ever to see me again in safety and health. As a marked feature of the people whom I had just left, I must give this concluding anecdote. Having been every where received and treated by the Montenegrines with peculiar kindness, it appeared but my duty not to dismiss my escort just when I arrived at my own door. Wishing to show my defenders some sense of their attention, I pressed them to accept of hospitality under my roof. Long did they positively resist my solicitations, speaking softly among themselves, and giving manifest signs of their fears. Several of them had figured in our former quarrels, but being among the most resolute, the Montenegrine governor had given them to me as the best protectors he could furnish. Knowing all this before I set out, it has often caused my wonder how I could venture myself alone among such men in such situations. In the course of my wanderings through their country, I know they were often warned to be on their guard; because my object was believed to be very different from that which I pretended; and that I might perhaps inveigle them within the walls of Cattaro, there to take vengeance on them for the assassination of the Italian officers in our service. Several of my guides and protectors were leading men in their community, and highly considered: it is not surprising, therefore, that they should hesitate when invited to enter our principal garrison. As we drew near to Cattaro, their alarm became more and more evident: slackening by degrees their pace, and looking often behind them, the moment was come, I thought, when they would certainly quit me. Not one of them had ventured into Cattaro, since the last arrangement with the vladika. Perceiving that I read their thoughts; "It is not you, commandant, whom we fear," said one of them; "were it necessary to fight in your defence, we would all do it with the greatest alacrity: but you yourself may be ignorant of the plots contrived against us."—"No, no, (answered I,) our troops are men of honour, incapable of forming or harbouring any project contrary to their duty as well as to my orders. Besides, my friends, did not I enter into your country alone, a stranger, and if you look back a little, what you might call an enemy. Have I not placed my life wholly in your power, in situations where you might have done with me whatever you chose? Can you suppose that I will be less generous than you have been? Trust me, you will find my soldiers neither less spirited, nor less frank and hospitable than yourselves."—"Give me your hand, commandant," said one of the company. "Your hand,"

cried another: embracing them all round, we walked into Cattaro in high spirits together. Having entertained my guests in the best manner in my power, I furnished to each a written certificate by which they were enabled to go about the town, to visit their former acquaintances, and to transact business of every kind.

CHAPTER XXXII.

General Observations.

WHEN that portion of the mountainous region, on the north-east coast of the Adriatic, called by the Italians, and from them by other Europeans, the Montenegro, obtained that name, is unknown. The name is merely a translation of the term *Czerna-Gora*, of the language still spoken in the country. The epithet black denotes the vast extended tracts of forest which even at present, and still more in ancient times, covered the mountains. The *Schwartz-Wald*, or the *Black-Forest*, in Suabia in Germany, to this day proves the propriety of the appellation. The northern portion of the country washed by the Adriatic on the south-west, was in ancient times called *Illyricum*, and the southern portion *Epirus*. The boundary between them was the river *Drilo*, now the *Drin*, which falls into the Adriatic, to the northward of *Durazzo*, formerly *Dyrrhachium*, celebrated in the history of Rome as the scene of the magnanimous, although unsuccessful, attempt of Julius Cæsar to enclose and reduce his rival Pompey. *Illyricum* was also subdivided into *Liburnia* on the north, and *Dalmatia* on the south; in which last portion the Montenegro was included. In ancient authors we find in general that the mountaineers of *Illyricum* led an unsettled unconquered life, firmly attached to their original customs, and acknowledging no other laws. They were also eminent for a courageous, bold, and independent spirit. Of the persons who, even amongst such a people, must have risen above their fellows we know nothing. A few individuals have indeed been mentioned in the Grecian and Roman histories: but no Illyrian historian has come down to our days; and in ancient as in modern times the people have been chiefly noticed for their predatory partial expeditions by sea as well as by land. That in the army of Persius, King of Epirus, who in 473 of Rome carried his forces into Italy, were natives of the mountainous region beyond the *Drilo*, the northern boundary of his dominions, may not unreasonably be supposed. His

father having exhausted the endurance of the Epirotes, by his incessant wars, was most justly driven from the throne, and Pyrrhus, then an infant, was placed for protection by his friends under Glaucus, King of Illyricum. Affected by the infantile blandishments of the boy, Glaucus not only adopted him, but aided in restoring to him the throne of Epirus. The lawless depredations of Teuta, Queen of Illyricum, have already been mentioned. Her country was among the first to be initiated into the doctrines of genuine Christianity, by St. Paul himself, as is recorded in his Epistle to the Romans.

Of much later times, the personage who chiefly attracted public attention to the eastern shores of the Adriatic, was George Castriot, best known by the appellation Scanderbeg. This extraordinary man was neither indeed a native, nor a chief, nor the sovereign of the Montenegro: but his dominions were a prolongation of that mountainous region, and the inhabitants were people of a similar character, spirit, and habits of life. To read, therefore, the history of the Albanians, and Epirotes of Scanderbeg, is in some measure, *mutatis mutandis*, to read the history of the Montenegrines.

The language of the Montenegro is a dialect of the antique Slavonian, (properly Slavonian,) which for copiousness and force of expression, and for the extent of countries in which it is spoken, is without a fellow in Europe. For the Slavonian is the mother of the various tongues employed in Bohemia, Poland, Russia, Hungary, Turkey in Europe, &c. In its genius, this language resembles others of the greatest antiquity. In speaking to a single person, the plural number is never employed, nor are titles of honour; nothing but thou and thee. Hence were Cæsar and Pompey, Cicero and Ovid, to revisit Dalmatia, they would still find themselves addressed by their proper names, and in the singular number, as in the best days of the Roman state. Of all the nations who still employ the Slavonian tongue, the Muscovites are reckoned to have preserved it in the greatest purity. For, in the first place, they have succeeded to the Sarmatians, who originally spoke that language, and in the second place, the Muscovites have been but very little intermingled with foreign nations possessing a different dialect. For reasons of the same kind, and nearly of equal force, the Montenegrines and the other inhabitants of the mountainous regions which border the eastern shores of the Adriatic, are believed to possess the Slavonian in great purity. This remark is not however strictly applicable to the inhabitants of the coast-towns, such as Cattaro, Ragusa, &c. where the native dialect is necessarily more or less corrupted by the introduction of the Italian. So much

is this now the case, that Italian terms are employed, not only to express conceptions and objects formerly unknown to the Sclavonians, but also to denote ideas and things for which appropriate terms do actually exist in the old tongue.

It was already observed, that an absurd pronunciation has long prevailed relative to the name of the Sclavonian nations. The name is formed from *slava*, a term signifying *glorious*, adopted by the people themselves, in allusion to some signal but now unknown success in battle. Hence many proper names, in countries where the Sclavonian is spoken, contain the term. Thus *Stanislavus*, corrupted into *Stanislaus*, denotes a person who stands firm for glory; *Radoslavus*, one who labours for glory; *Vladislavus*, one who reigns with glory. From this circumstance it has been inferred, that the proper name of the nation was *Slava*; and if we sometimes meet with *Slova* and *Slovinska*, the variation arises from the practice of certain districts, where *o* is substituted for *a* in many other words. Besides these names having peculiar meanings, many others are found in Russia, Poland, &c. formed from terms significant in Sclavonian. Thus we find *Radimir*, the maker of peace; *Zuonimir*, the herald of peace; *Cascimir*, improperly *Casimir*, the declarer of peace; *Budimir*, the imposer of peace.

In the modern history of the countries adjoining to Montenegro, frequent mention is made of several classes of men whose names, in general not understood, are significant in Sclavonian. The *hayducs* (or, as it ought to be written and pronounced without an aspiration, *aïducs*) have latterly been considered as a race of desperate robbers and murderers. In this way they were distinguished from the *lupexi*, or petty thieves, who carry on their depredations by private stealth. The *aïducs* glory in being men of heroic valour, who look on the *lupexi* with equal hatred and contempt. The *aïducs* are bold, valorous, enterprising, ready to encounter every danger, and to engage in the most desperate, however iniquitous, adventures. They usually commence their career by expeditions against their Turkish neighbours, but too often end it by becoming a pest and a terror to their own people. Their object is not to carry off cattle and sheep, a species of plunder which they leave to the dastardly *lupexi*, but to seize money, silks, spiceries, and other articles of value easily transported. Their usual course, therefore, is to way-lay caravans or companies of Turkish merchants on their way to or from the towns on the coast. Much resistance is seldom made by the merchants, even when in force. Quite unfit to cope with the *aïducs*, they usually discharge their pieces and make their

escape, leaving their goods and cattle to the assailants. The *aïducs* do not always confine their operations to public robbery. In the year 1775, the renowned chief Bussich, with a party of twenty heroes, broke into the Turkish territory, and, making a circuit of many miles, compelled the people to furnish the *haratch*, or capitation-tax, as if they had been really Turkish officers appointed for its collection. For the adoption of such a mode of life various causes have been assigned. Their situation, amidst almost impassable mountains, abounding in forests, caverns, and other secret recesses, in some measure invite the inhabitants to rank themselves among the *aïducs*. The same character of the people was given by the Roman historian, Florus.—“The Dalmatians,” says he, “generally dwell in the forests, and thence are extremely addicted to robbery.” From this circumstance arises the saying common among the mountaineers on the north of the Montenegro: *Iurjev dancé, Aïducki sastance*: “Oh for St. George’s day, and the meeting of the Aïducs!” For at that time the woods begin to be so clothed with foliage as to afford shelter to the adventurers. It is not, however, to be supposed that this or any other single reason induces men to engage in such a trade. Some are criminals who have escaped from justice; some have failed in lawful business; many are driven to desperate courses by the vexations and extortions of the collectors of the public revenue; many are instigated by a restless disposition that disdains all controul. An *aïduc* was apprehended by the officers of justice, or rather the soldiers of the police, in the Austrian and Venetian dominions; being asked by the magistrate why he had entered on the life of a robber and murderer? “Why have you,” answered he, “chosen to become a magistrate?” Those police-soldiers are styled *bandours*, a name commonly corrupted into *pandours*, a class of troops often mentioned in the history of Austrian campaigns. Attempts have been made, but always in vain, by the Austrian and Venetian governments to restrain, if they could not suppress, those lawless depredations: but both have, perhaps, been secretly pleased to observe the maintenance of a spirit of invincible hatred against the Turks, in those natural boundaries of their several states.

Another class of Dalmatian mountaineers are the *uscocs*, a term denoting originally foreigners or emigrees, but latterly applied as a name of reproach. The term was first given to persons who, fleeing from the oppression of their masters, particularly from Turkey, withdrew into the neighbouring countries. Having little or no property of their own, many of them resorted to theft and robbery for subsistence; hence a

foreigner or emigree, (*uscoc*) and a robber came to be nearly synonymous terms.

That *aïducs* and *uscocs*, as well as *lupexi*, formerly might, and perhaps still may be discovered in the Montenegro, it would be rash in me to deny: I can only say, I heard nothing of them; nor would it have been either prudent or civil in me, whatever might be my curiosity or my suspicions on that head, to make enquiries on the subject.

The following lines are literally translated from a song in general use in the Montenegro. It is the complaint of a young damsel, who in one day lost both her father and her lover; and expresses, with characteristic simplicity, the anguish of a heart for ever closed against all hope of happiness. Unable to enjoy repose she wandered about in the night; and arriving at the summit of a mountain, accompanied by a female friend, at the moment when the morning began to break forth, she thus addressed her:—

MONTENEGRO SONG.

Hearest thou the warbling,
The sweet chant of the birds,
On our delightful hills?
Reckless of the storm
They taste, each in his turn,
The sweets of tenderest love.
In midst of his young brood
Each, as he hops around,
At break of day
Of kindest warmth
The moving proof displays.

Through nature's wide domain,
Of their still changing notes
The melody so pure
Th' enchanting concert forms,
To their Creator's power
His homage each pours forth.
Their song the presage yields,
The pledge of days of joy,
The proof of their return.

The morning in her prime,
Now the bright heaven adorns
With every gayest tint
In Flora's fairest realm,
Enlivened by the breeze
Each floweret now unfolds
Its bosom to the sun
From whom its shades proceed.

Alas ! of such delight
For me, for me alone
The source has ceased to flow !
How the lot of the herb,
How the lot of the flower,
My broken heart now rend
With envy's bitterest pang !

In translating this piece, I have studied as much as possible to give a correct imitation of the original. The following lines are a specimen of the language, in a stanza frequently annexed to the warlike songs of the mountaineers, alluding to the exploits of a famous warrior, *Mark Kraglievich*, to whom the most extravagant actions are ascribed :—

Jasce kogna Marco Kraglievichiu :
S'iednom smiom kogna zaudaie ;
A drughamu za kansciu slusci.

IN ENGLISH.

“ Mark Kraglievich,” (i. e. Mark, the son of kings,) “ rides on his charger : one viper in his hand serves him for a bridle ; another serves for a spur and a whip.”

The adventures of George Castriot, or Scanderbeg, employed, as might naturally be expected, the pens of the most eminent historians of his age, Volaterranus, Æneas, Silvius, Piccolomini, Pope, under the title of Pius II., Paulus Jovius, &c. But the most complete and interesting account of the modern heroes of Epirus, was composed by Marinus Barletius, a Roman or Latin priest of Scutari, and afterwards a professor in the university of Brescia in Italy. His work *de vita moribus ac rebus, præcipue adversus Turcas, gestis. Georgii Castrioti clarissimi Epirotarum principis, qui Scanderbegus, hoc est. Alexander Dominus sive Magnus, cognominatus fuit*, was first published at Strasburgh, in folio, in 1537. The work of Barletius is little known ; consequently, the history of Scanderbeg has been chiefly collected from a compilation in French, by *Jaques de Laverdin, seigneur du Plessis*, dedicated to the noble Henry IV. of France, in 1597, but not printed till 1604.

The principal families of the northern part of Epirus, now a portion of Albania, extending from the river Drino, southwards to Corfu, were three in number, of which the second was that of Castriot. John of Dibra, the chief of this family, whose principal residence was in Croia, a strong position in the mountains twenty miles eastward from Durazzo, having been defeated by Amurath (father of Mahomet II. the conqueror of Constantinople) in the early part of the fifteenth century, surrendered his three sons as hostages for his submission. Being carried to Adrianople the youths were, in violation of the

treaty with their father, initiated in the religion of the conqueror, and instructed in all the knowledge and exercises of the Turkish court. George, the youngest, by his qualities natural and acquired, soon gained the affections of Amurath, who promoted him to the command of important divisions of his army, in various expeditions. Learning the death of his father, and that his two brothers had been secretly cut off by Amurath, who had caused Croia and Albania to be occupied as part of his dominions, George or Scanderbeg, as he was named after Alexander of Macedon, after many projects at last succeeded in withdrawing from his gilded slavery, and repaired to his native land. Acknowledged and cordially welcomed by his brave Albanians, he declared himself and his country free and independent. His whole life-time, down to his death in 1466, in his sixty-third year, exhibited an uninterrupted chain of warlike exploits in successful defence of his country, against the utmost exertions of the mighty Amurath and Mahomet, of which we of modern times can with difficulty credit the relation. Well was it said by a French officer, not a hundred years ago; "A plague on gun-powder! it has driven bravery and courage out of the world." Artillery, as applicable to sieges, was but just introduced into practice when the Turks invaded the dominions of Scanderbeg. Personal ingenuity, intrepidity, and perseverance in the field of battle, were therefore still in the highest request. The details of the warfare conducted by Scanderbeg consequently abound in acts and incidents of which examples can rarely occur in modern times, among the nations of Europe; but which may be found in the heroic or fabulous ages of antiquity, or in the personal exploits of the present race of mountaineers of Albania and the Montenegro.

FINIS.

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Travels in Montenegro containing a topographical, picturesque and statistical account of that hitherto undescribed country ; Illustr. by a map and pl

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